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Karpov Denies CW Weapons Located Outside Borders
LD1003102689 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—"We believe that alongside with the Vienna negotiations on conventional weapons it is necessary to start talks on tactical nuclear arms too", it was stated today at a briefing here by Viktor Karpov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR. Replying to questions about NATO plans to modernize tactical nuclear weapons, the Soviet diplomat noted that, if implemented, they would affect negatively the prospects for agreement at Vienna. Such measures would mean the strengthening of NATO's nuclear potential concurrently with the elaboration of measures to reduce conventional armaments and armed forces.

"The Soviet Union holds that the NATO nations should now refrain, as a minimum, from steps to modernize tactical nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is not modernizing its tactical nuclear missiles", Viktor Karpov stressed.

Asked to comment on Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's call to the Soviet Union "to pull out and destroy immediately all chemical weapons deployed in frontline areas", the deputy minister said: "If Chancellor Kohl means that Soviet chemical arms are deployed outside our national borders, there is not a bit of truth in such an allegation. The Soviet Union has no chemical weapons abroad".

If there is any doubt about it, Viktor Karpov said, the Soviet Union is ready to carry out a corresponding verification together with the United States, "to check where American chemical weapons are deployed abroad and to ask our Warsaw Treaty allies to allow American inspectors into their territory to see that there are no Soviet chemical arms there".

Disarmament, Confidence-Building Talks Under Way

Foreign Minister Talks End
PM0903152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "The Theme of the Forum Is Disarmament and Confidence"]

[Text] Vienna—The Vienna meeting of the foreign ministers of the 35 CSCE states is drawing to a close. On the third and final day of the meeting the debate continued on what the path to disarmament on the continent should be and what should be done to further strengthen trust and security.

Virtually every speaker came back to the Soviet plan for the three-phase reduction of armed forces expounded by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, and also to the proposals from the Western countries on the correlation of NATO and Warsaw Pact potentials. Different ideas on levels of arms were put forward, but they all boiled down to the fact that these levels must be considerably lower than they are now to lessen the overall military confrontation in Europe.

Here is an interesting detail. Questions of dismantling the offensive potentials of armed forces seemed to have a narrow military character, but today they are increasingly becoming the subject of concerned debate among politicians, scientists, and public figures. There were practically no military men at Vienna's Hofburg Palace; civilians and heads of foreign policy departments spoke, but they all convincingly sought to prove that a further arms race is senseless and fraught with dangers for both East and West.

How can these dangers be overcome? The paths proposed by the sides are not identical. For instance, the NATO countries are endeavoring to restrict the discussion of disarmament problems to questions of conventional weapons reductions alone and are not concerned with the numerical strength of troops, although it is the troops that are the main component of the armed forces. They agree to discuss the level of arms, but without tactical nuclear weapons and naval and air forces. Nevertheless positions are similar on many other questions. Everyone regards the elimination of offensive potentials as of paramount importance, above all to ensure that the remaining potentials are solely defensive in character.

Other initial positions also seem close. For instance, it is the general opinion that collective levels should be determined that are without fail lower than current levels. There must be regular exchanges of information, a monitoring mechanism must be created, and verification of the arms reductions must be established in order to avoid violations and ensure that trust is strengthened between countries and blocs.

Of course, the quantitative aspect of the reductions is of great importance, it was said at the meeting. However, the true value of these reductions lies in the political signals that they are sending to the disarmament talks.

For a long time Western countries reproached the Warsaw Pact countries with keeping the overall quantity of our armed forces and arms a secret. But now the situation has changed radically. We have published our data on the correlation of NATO and Warsaw Pact potentials. This was done on the eve of the talks that began in Vienna 6 March on conventional armed forces in Europe. This will help the participants in the talks to present an overall picture of the current correlation of forces. In his speech E.A. Shevardnadze warned that we must avoid futile discussion of figures and give priority to strategy and broad policy. This will guard against the mistakes that resulted in the failure of the ill-starred talks on reductions in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe that lasted 15 years.

The idea of ensuring security by confidence-building measures rather than through military means is increasingly being asserted and receiving recognition. This idea, which is still under discussion at the Stockholm conference, will be developed at the talks on confidence-building now opening in Vienna. All 35 CSCE countries will be involved in the elaboration of confidence-building measures unlike the forum on conventional armed forces in which 23 countries will take part—7 from the Warsaw Pact and 16 from NATO. In addition to the delegations of the two blocs, neutral and nonaligned countries will take part in the talks. It is to be hoped that they will be able to reach agreement by common efforts on new, large-scale confidence-building measures, so that openness and glasnost go hand in hand with the limitation of all types of military activity and the persistent mutual "enemy image" that haunts Western and our own propaganda will give way to an objective and serious look at one another.

Thus, bidding the Austrian capital farewell, the foreign ministers hand over the baton to the participants in the two parallel talks for the detailed elaboration of the proposals voiced in the Hall of Congresses.

Bush Issues Statement

LD1003084389 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 10 TASS—The White House on Thursday issued President George Bush's statement on the talks on conventional armaments in Europe and confidence-building measures, beginning in Vienna.

Bush described the talks as "the beginning of a process of great importance for the people of Europe, the United States and Canada, and for all who share the hope of safer and more secure Europe".

He offered the Western interpretation of the correlation of forces in Europe. He said that the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe "offer a new opportunity to redress the imbalance in military forces which strongly favours the Warsaw Pact and which has been a source of tension since the end of World War II".

Bush said NATO's aim is to "eliminate the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large scale offensive actions".

On the negotiations on confidence and security building measures, the U.S. President said: "Our aim is to lift the veil of secrecy from certain military activities and forces, and thus contribute to a more stable Europe".

At the same time, he pointed out that NATO's approach to these negotiations "rests on two important principles: that maintaining strong and modern defences is essential to our security and freedom, and that negotiated and effectively verifiable agreements can enhance our security and the prospects for lasting peace."

Negotiator Warns of Goodwill Limit

LD0903174289 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] The chief Soviet negotiator at the Vienna talks, Oleg Grinevskiy, has on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty countries announced new proposals for slashing troops and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In his speech at the negotiations in the Austrian capital on conventional arms in Europe, Oleg Grinevskiy suggested a three-stage plan. First, all the imbalances and asymmetries in various types of arms would be eliminated, in the first place offensive weapons having the greatest destabilizing effect. At the last stage the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO are to be given a purely defensive structure.

The Soviet delegate said he was certain about the feasibility of achieving these goals by the end of the century. However, he said that NATO's plans for modernizing tactical nuclear arms might frustrate efforts along these lines. Nuclear arms are not on the agenda of these talks, the Soviet delegate said, but we must remember that they exist and that we are seriously alarmed by the modernization plans.

Oleg Grinevskiy recalled unilateral moves by the Soviet Union and its allies to reduce troops and conventional arms. He said that those who thought that the Warsaw Treaty countries would continue to disarm themselves unilaterally were making a mistake. There must be the awareness, he said, that without reciprocity any manifestation of good will has a limit.

Negotiator Optimistic

AU1003110289 Sofia BTA in English 0807 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—I cannot remember other talks to have started at such broader coincidence of the views of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. This was said in an interview for today's ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME by the leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks on reduction of conventional forces in Europe, Mr Oleg Grinevskiy.

The Soviet diplomat supports his opinion noting the "sharp, dynamic but without confrontation beginning of the talks". He expresses conviction that the simultaneous submission of proposals by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO is deeply symbolic and reflects the intention of the two alliances to start working without any delay.

Mr Grinevskiy is basing his optimism on the fact that "both countries intend to focus their attention on those kinds of weapons which pose threat for surprise attack and carrying out of large-scale operations". In spite of all difficulties and differences we could say that it is possible to build bridges between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, he notes.

CSSR's Vaclavik Discusses Force, Arms Cuts

PM0903125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview in Prague with Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, by own correspondent S. Vtorushin: "Confidence and Security. Milan Vaclavik, CSSR Minister of National Defense, Answers PRAVDA Correspondent's Questions"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Prague—The Warsaw Pact defense ministers' statement "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters" has produced enormous interest from the European and international public.

[Vtorushin] What, in your view, is the main import of the statement?

[Vaclavik] First and foremost, the fact that it is the first officially published and, I would say, competent document actually proving that there is approximate military equilibrium in Europe when all components are taken into account. The statement accurately points out the areas in which NATO and the Warsaw Pact have an advantage.

The publication of these figures is an important Warsaw Pact contribution to building confidence among European states. It has put an end to the fabrications about our defensive alliance's unilateral advantage—an idea that certain circles in the West employed in propaganda against us to justify their arms programs and armed forces modernization. I believe this document could serve as a basis for embarking on the resolution of one of the most important tasks—the removal of existing asymmetries.

Indisputably the military statement is also of political importance. It is a step toward deepening confidence in that part of the world, an example of the search for ways to solve mankind's most burning problems, a manifestation of new political thinking in international relations, and an act of goodwill on the part of the socialist community countries reflecting their resolve to give concrete expression to this new thinking.

[Vtorushin] What can you say about the forces and arms cuts in your country?

[Vaclavik] I believe the Soviet public is already acquainted with the statement issued by our country's Defense Council on this question. In 1989-1990 the Czechoslovak People's Army will also undergo other changes which will emphasize its defensive nature. Combat unit personnel will be cut by 12,000. The number of tank regiments in the ground forces' organizational structures will be reduced, and three combined-arms divisions will be reorganized and transferred to guarding stockpiles of mothballed equipment with minimum numbers of servicing personnel. The number of air regiments will be reduced. This is bound up with the gradual elimination of 850 tanks, 165 armored transports, and 51 warplanes. Moreover, the number of divisional and regimental tactical and combat firing exercises will be substantially restricted.

These measures accord with the needs of our national economy, which is undergoing a complex period of restructuring and requires the mobilization of all sources and reserves to improve its efficiency. This should be promoted by limiting planned defense spending to 15 percent through reductions in the size of military units and other organizational measures. Some 20,000 men will enter military construction organizations, which will participate in building the most important national economic projects and transportation lines. The state's economy will also be helped by limiting the number of reservists involved in exercises. The Czechoslovak pubic has been understanding about these measures and has expressed full support for them.

Armed forces and arms reductions will produce major changes in the Army's existing structure. This will require an improvement in combat and mobilization training in the spirit of the defensive doctrine, and an enhancement in the standard of work done by commanders, staffs, and political organs. That is the content of the restructuring process in our army.

[Vtorushin] Where do you see further ways of deepening the all-European process of detente, holding talks on armed forces and conventional arms cuts in Europe, and eliminating asymmetries in certain kinds of arms?

[Vaclavik] The ways to deepen the all-European process and detente should undoubtedly be bound up with the philosophy of the new political thinking, which sees the development of international relations in the context of the multifaceted and contradictory modern world with its growing interdependence and integrated nature. This means giving priority to the development of common human values and proceeding on the basis of the principle that international security can be safeguarded by political means. We will strive to ensure that the positive trends in the present-day development of international relations become irreversible and finally remove the threat of war. We consider the acceleration of the process of real disarmament initiated by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to be one of the most important steps along this road. In this regard we welcome the USSR's decision to unilaterally cut its armed forces and armaments—a decision announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations—as well as the similar decisions made by our allies. These measures prove that we consider European disarmament to be one of the main principles on the road to lasting peace. That is why we will continue to struggle for the implementation of the joint initiatives of the CSSR and the GDR aimed at creating nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones in Europe. We see our

contribution to the building of the all-European home as being the proposal by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to set up zones of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

The adoption of the final document at the Vienna CSCE meeting creates a favorable basis for ensuring that this process reaches a qualitatively new level, particularly in the military sphere. The talks on conventional armed forces in Europe will be unprecedented in terms of their content and scope. We want to actively participate in implementing the concept of a joint approach adopted at the Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee last July. We see the main aim as being to radically reduce the military potentials of all states in the two blocs and to remove any possibility for either side to launch a surprise attack or mount deep-strike offensive operations. One would hope that the talks will be dynamic and divided into stages with limited time frames and geographic scope; specific goals and timetables would be laid down for each stage of the talks.

[Vtorushin] A number of socialist countries recently announced unilateral reductions in their armed forces, armaments, and military budgets. Won't this reflect on those states' defense capability and that of the Warsaw Pact as a whole?

[Vaclavik] The unilateral reduction in armed forces, armaments, and military budgets under the conditions of approximate military equality will always result in a reduction in combat effectiveness. It would be illogical to claim that we will stay just as strong after reducing our armies.

In adopting this decision we proceeded on the basis of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, which is founded on the principle of reasonable sufficiency and reflects the desire to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe to levels at which neither side, while providing for its own defense, would have the systems to launch a surprise attack.

At the same time we must take account of the existing military-political situation in Europe, above all the fact that we stand on the dividing line with the NATO countries and our armed forces are the Warsaw Pact's first line of defense. We cannot fail to take account of the fact that, apart from their verbal statements, the NATO states have not adopted any concrete measures which could be seen as a positive response to the unilateral initiatives announced previously by the USSR and the other socialist countries. This has also limited our scope for making reductions.

It should be stressed that our decision was adopted after a comprehensive study and on the understanding that the defense capability of the CSSR and our allies must be unconditionally safeguarded. We stand by the principle that defense effectiveness depends above all on the quality of troop training and combat capability. We fully guarantee to fulfill the tasks of defending our republic and all the commitments incumbent on us through our membership of the Warsaw Pact.

We are convinced that the other Warsaw Pact states were guided by similar considerations in adopting their unilateral measures.

U.S. Conducts Underground Nuclear Test in Nevada

LD0903225189 Moscow TASS in English 2236 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] San Francisco March 10—The United States has held a new underground nuclear explosion in Nevada. A warhead from 20 to 150 kilotons was exploded at a depth of 500 metres and, according to seismic services, caused an underground tremor of 5.1 points under the Richter scale. Earth tremors were felt in Las Vegas, 128 kilometres from the explosion.

The nuclear test codenamed Ignot, the third one this year, was held in military purposes, said a spokesman for the U.S. Energy Department.

A group of peace campaigners held a demonstration of protest outside the gates of the Nevada test range, demanding an end to modernisation and to stockpiling of U.S. nuclear arsenals. THe guards arrested 11 demonstrators on standard charges of violating state structure boundaries.

* U.S. General on Progress of INF Elimination

WA52000023 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by I. Borisenko: "Reassuring Statistics"]

[Text] Washington, 3 March (TASS correspondent) In accordance with the Soviet-American INF Treaty, up to the present moment elimination of 31.9 percent of American and 36.2 percent of Soviet medium-range missiles has been completed. This was announced by Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency, during U.S. congressional hearings.

Gen Lajoie, head of the first group of American inspectors, who arrived in the USSR 1 July 1988, informed the legislators of the work of the department which he heads, of the course of operations involved with the elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles. "In the course of preliminary verification of the data stipulated by the treaty, there were no serious incidents," announced Gen Lajoie. "This is still somewhat surprising to me. The majority of the problems were minor and were solved on the spot, indicating the flexibility and goodwill of both sides." At this time, according to the

general, there are 70 American inspectors at the sites in the USSR subject to verification, and 49 Soviet specialists at sites on U.S. territory.

"In conclusion, I would like to state that we worked assiduously toward the realization of all propositions on the conduct of inspections as provided in the INF Treaty," noted Lajoie. "For the U.S. government, this experience will form a solid basis for developing verification programs for other, more complicated agreements in the future."

U.S. INF Inspection Office in Udmurtiya Viewed

LD0903213189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; F. Simakov report]

[Text] [Simakov] U.S. inspectors who monitor fulfillment of the tenets of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, are working in our country. [video shows "On-Site Inspection Agency" emblem on wall, and small U.S. flag pinned on wall] This is why a U.S. office has appeared here, near the entrance of the Votkinskiy Zavod association, which is in U' 'murtiya. Our office has appeared in the town of Magna in the state of Utah. All is as we agreed, but the U.S. inspectors have organized their work in the way that suits them, that's the first thing; and second, they did it in the easiest and speediest way possible. [video shows a few people seated in an office, Soviet and U.S. flags flying, and another shot of several people in an office]

As you can see, here are both the VDU's and, naturally, also the computers. Business documents are entered on a VDU screen and then printed in a simple and speedy manner. [video shows VDUs, computers, printers, two men working in the office] There is only one task for the inspection team: to see that the SS-20 missiles are no longer produced and that they are, naturally, not taken out of the plant. [video shows (?Simakov) talking to Colonel D. Englund, head of the inspection group, identified by caption, with both men seated at a table talking]

[Englund] This work is altogether unusual. I think that we...[changes thought] I would simply say that we are the first ones carrying out this activity and we all feel a kind of responsibility. [video shows more men working in the office]

[Simakov] The inspectors work round-the-clock. Their shifts are 12 hours long and reorganization of this regime is evidently, so far, not planned. Yes, peace is also costly, but surely that is worth sparing something for! [video shows the other section of the office, which comprises two bunk beds; Englund also shown walking up a short flight of stairs]

Col Englund showed us the technical center for the inspection. As you can see, it is also full of electronic equipment. [video shows electronic equipment installed in a spacious room] All this, as well as household equipment—furniture, household appliances, simulators and even card tables—was delivered by aircraft from the states. [video shows easy chairs, television, exercise equipment]

Incidentally, the inspectors are extremely grateful to the Votkinsk builders for their work. The cottages in which they will live and where they are now preparing for a housewarming are not just built well, but beautifully! [video shows an interior of a room] The quality is excellent. It would be nice if this, incidentally, happened at the ordinary building sites. The fact that the rooms are built in an American way is cheaper, their masters think, first of all. Second, one likes to be closer to one's homeland, which is more than 1,000 miles away from the depths of Russia. [video pans around the room showing high quality furnishings and decorations]

Inspectors in Belgium; Sites To Be Announced

LD0903232989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1852 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Brussels, 9 March (TASS)—In accordance with the provisions of the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty, two groups of Soviet inspectors arrived in the Belgian capital today. Following the established procedure, they will announce tomorrow morning which installations they intend to visit.

In Belgium, U.S. cruise missiles were sited at the military base in the vicinity of the town of Florennes, 65 kilometers from Brussels. According to the U.S. Command, the last of those were flown to the United States for subsequent destruction on 13 December last year. On the country's territory, the European center for the technical servicing of cruise missiles continues to function in the small town of Gosselies.

Nuclear Modernization Losing Support in West

LD0903183589 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Vladimir Chernyshev commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe have opened in Vienna. One of the cardinal tasks of these negotiations is to work out a balanced agreement on substantial cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. It is intended to establish such a balance of military potentials in Europe under which the two military-political alliances will have forces and means sufficient only for defences.

The new negotiations have the aim of creating an absolutely different situation in Europe, of substantially enhancing the confidence of the sides in each other. The unilateral large-scale reductions of forces and armaments that are to be started shortly by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are to have as weighty a political impact on East-West relations.

The repeated calls of certain Western leaders for the modernisation of NATO nuclear forces in Europe, specifically for replacing short-range nuclear missiles Lance with missiles of higher precision, larger yield and longer range look as an anachronism in these circumstances. Thus Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, in an interview with the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, declared again that NATO is not going to give up nuclear armaments in Europe which serve as a "deterrent."

The United States puts forward the idea of modernisation, which might have dangerous consequences. Great Britain supports the U.S.A. So the question arises if someone in NATO is not going to "compensate" for a possible arrangement on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces by implementing plans of nuclear rearming.

It is held in the Soviet Union that if the idea of modernisation is implemented, Europe will be rolled back to the situation that existed prior to the conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range missiles. This is why the USSR proposes that the negotiations on reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe be started as soon as possible. What Europe needs is not modernisation of missiles but modernisation of security systems on the basis of restricting the numerical strength and armaments to the lowest level.

It is gratifying to note that many leaders not only in the Warsaw Treaty countries but also in NATO countries now declare in favor of the two military-political alliances discussing the isolated question of tactical nuclear weapons. It should be noted that during a recent tour of West Europen NATO countries by the U.S. Secretary of State it has been established that the governments of the FRG, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Norway, Belgium, Greece and Iceland try at least to defer the adoption of the final decision on modernisation. They motivate their restraint by the growing disbelief of the population of West European NATO countries that there exists "the menace from the East," and also by the fact that the USSR and its allies really manifest the striving for stability and security.

Europe is entering a new important period when it is being decided whether it succeeds in overcoming the split connected with constant confrontation. In these conditions it is important to remember that the decision on modernisation can arrest the nascent process of disarmament and lead to the aggravation of East-West relations.

Observers Arrive in Norway for NATO Exercises

LD0803202389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Oslo, 8 Mar (TASS)—A group of Soviet military observers arrived today in northern Norway at the invitation of the Norwegians and in accordance with the Final Document of the Stockholm Conference on Measures for Reinforcing Trust, Security, and Disarmament in Europe. They will visit the region where the NATO military exercises "Cold Winter-89" are taking place. Observers from other socialist countries have also been invited to the exercises.

Pact Official Cites 'Concern' at WEU Expansion

PM1003094989 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 7 Mar 89 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Concern in Warsaw Pact About Spain's Entry into WEU"]

[Text] Madrid—Soviet General Vladimir Lobov, recently appointed chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact forces, has asserted that Spain's entry into the WEU [Western European Union], as well as the strengthening of that organization, "cannot help but arouse our concern."

In an interview published in the latest issue of the REVISTA ESPANOLA DE DEFENSA, Gen Lobov adds that "the West is responding to the USSR's constructive peace proposals with the de facto formation of a new military bloc."

According to Lobov, this can be interpreted "as an attempt to revive tension, which had apparently begun to abate in relations between the two alliances."

"The integration of military cooperation efforts by the West European countries and the aim of adjusting the WEU's plans to NATO's military concepts could cause a new arms race and nullify all the positive results which mankind has achieved by struggling for peace," Lobov concluded in this connection.

At another point in the interview, the Warsaw Pact chief of staff, and until recently Soviet Army deputy chief of staff, asserted that the Soviet people and Army are united and that "the Army not only supports the CPSU's policy and restructuring but also plays a very active part in it."

"We will strive," Lobov says, "to find the simplest and most economical solutions for restructuring," and "in this effort we are trying to find problems which have yet to be resolved."

"We speak frankly, but the aim is always the same—to perform the tasks set by the party and people."

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 10 Mar

Diplomat Expulsion 'Gross Provocation'

LD1003105489 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman described the U.S. expulsion of a Soviet diplomat as a "gross provocation".

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a news conference here Friday [10 March] that Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov was seized by FBI agents at his home Wednesday evening.

Gerasimov said that despite Pakhtusov's protests and explanations that he had diplomatic immunity and could prove his identity the agents used force and handcuffed the diplomat.

Pakhtusov was prevented from showing his documents which were in his apartment and could prove his identity. He was also denied the right to call the Soviet Embassy and tell embassy officials what had happened.

"Although it was cold, Pakhtusov was not allowed to dress in warmer clothes. He was taken to an FBI office and not allowed to get in touch with Soviet officials for a prolonged period", the spokesman went on.

"The aim of this action became clear when FBI agents offered him money to defect, an offer that Pakhtusov strongly rejected. Only after that did the agents, who saw the futility of their plans, contact the Soviet Embassy through the State Department," Gerasimov said. "After some more delay they had to release Pakhtusov."

Gerasimov said the circumstances unequivocally show that the incident was an "intentional pre-planned act against the Soviet diplomat who had not done anything incompatible with his status".

The spokesman said that the Soviet Embassy in Washington filed a strong protest with the State Department on Thursday.

The embassy described this move as contradicting international law and international practices and incompatible with the new constructive atmosphere in Soviet-U.S. relations.

A Soviet Embassy official demanded that the U.S. take effective measures to prevent such cases in future and protect the dignity and safety of Soviet officials on U.S. territory.

"It was said that in taking the decision to expel Pakhtusov who did not violate his diplomatic status the American side assumes all the responsiblity", Gerasimov said.

Criticizes Saudi Arabia

LD1003111689 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—"The 'transitional government' of Afghanistan has no legal powers and recognition of such a 'government' only serves to fan up the civil war in the country, encourages the extremists", it was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Replying to questions about Saudi Arabia's recognition of the "transitional government" of Afghanistan, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that such a decision could not contribute to the formation of an all-Afghan government on a broadly representative basis, involving all political forces. "But this is precisely what the resolution on Afghanistan, adopted at the [word indistinct] session of the U.N. General Assembly, calls for. As a matter of fact, Saudi Arabia has voted for it".

UN Official Pleased by Shevardnadze Letter

LD0903224989 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 9 TASS—On behalf of the U.N. secretary-general, his legal counsel Carl-August Fleischhauer expressed profound satisfaction with the letter to Perez de Cuellar from USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze. He pointed out that the decisions of the Soviet Union, pertaining to the jurisdiction of the U.N. International Court of Justice, were a highly positive step. This announcement was made today by the representative of the U.N. secretary-general.

World Court Jurisdiction Recognized as Binding

LD0903213289 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—The chief of the Directorate of International Law at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yuriy Rybakov, said that the acceptance by the Soviet Union of the binding arbitration of the International Court of Justice over a number of major multilateral international conventions should be viewed in the context of the USSR's new political thinking. This was his comment regarding the decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to accept the binding arbitration of the world court over the conventions on the prevention and punishment of genocidal crimes, on the political rights of women, elimination of racial discrimination, and the convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent Rybakov went on to say that the Soviet Union thus accepted the binding jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice

over all fundamental human rights agreements, which envisage the possibility of applying to the supreme justice authority of the U.N.

Rybakov further noted that the USSR attaches great importance to increasing the role of international law as a means of guaranteeing the rights of the individual, and expressed the opinion that respect for the legal means of managing the affairs of the international community, peaceful solution of conflicts in a civilized manner, including through courts, will undoubtedly strengthen stability and create a favourable environment for international dialogue. Disputes arising in connection with specific convention clauses should not be turned into ideological ones, as they can be settled in the framework of international law.

Foreign Ministry 'Expert' Cited on Immigration

LD0903161889 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—The current Vienna talks of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO members on conventional armed forces in Europe and of 33 European nations, the United States and Canada on confidence- and security-building measures bear out once again the vitality and dynamism of the Helsinki process, which comprises the so-called "human dimension".

What is the state of affairs in the Soviet Union regarding one of the "human dimension" aspects given particular attention in the West, namely emigration?

A TASS diplomatic correspondent put this question to Leonid Anisimov, a Soviet Foreign Ministry expert who holds M.S. degrees in law and history.

"Admittedly, emigration from the Soviet Union until recently was artificially hindered though not entirely as emigration continued despite these efforts which also provided a pretext for accusing the Soviet Union of violating its international commitments in ensuring basic human rights and liberties," Anisimov said.

"The new regulations on exit from and entry into the USSR, which took effect on January 1, 1987, have enabled Soviet citizens to leave at the invitation of not only their next of kin but also brothers, sisters and, in some instances, even distant relatives."

"But the exit procedures are still far from perfect and debates are underway on the expediency of adopting a law on freedom of exit, that is on the exercise of the right to emigrate. [no end quotation marks as received].

"The adoption of such a law could become an essential factor for making Soviet society healthier and strengthening it politically, legally and morally," the Foreign Ministry expert said.

He also called for launching an immigration service which would ensure, among other things, Soviet emigrants' right to return.

The third CSCE conference on the "human dimension" will open in Moscow in September 1991. It is believed within the Soviet diplomatic community that energetic and aboveboard Soviet involvement in the Vienna process will help affirm the priority of universally shared values.

Comparison of Lukyanov Meeting With Parliamentarians

PM0303103589

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 3 March 1989 publishes in its Morning Edition on page 4 a TASS report under the general heading "Constructive Dialogue" on A.I. Lukyanov's 1 March meeting with a European Parliament delegation. The IZVESTIYA report has been compared with the PRAVDA 2 March Second Edition version published in the 9 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 6, revealing the following variation:

page 7, column one, final paragraph, last sentence in the IZVESTIYA reads: ...resolving these tasks.

[New paragraph] Taking part in the talk were Yu. N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A.F. Dobrynin, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission; and V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission.

The Europarliament delegation was also received by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy. A substantive dialogue took place on questions of deepening and expanding political, economic, and ecological cooperation in Europe. (adding material)

Ryzhkov Discusses Role of Women With Journalists

PM0803131189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation in the Kremlin With Women Journalists"]

[Text] A meeting took place in the Kremlin 7 March, on the eve of International Women's Day, between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the participants in the International Press Club of Women Journalists working in Moscow. In the course of an unconstrained and friendly conversation, correspondents from the major news agencies AP (United States), REUTER (Britain), FRANCE-PRESSE (France), EFE (Spain), and also TASS and APN and the representatives of LE MONDE, THE TIMES, NEWSWEEK, LE FIGARO, VLASTA, REPUBBLICA, THE MORNING STAR, BARRICADA, JUVENTUD REBELDE, KOOPERATIVNO SELO, LE FLAMAND,

and radio and television from the GDR, the FRG, the United States, and France, and Soviet journalists from PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, central television and radio were able to receive answers to questions of interest to them with regard to Soviet restructuring, the position of women and the solution of social problems, and the most important aspects of the country's political development. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers pointed out that it has become possible under conditions of democratization and glasnost to raise and resolve questions of paramount significance for women in a new way. At the same time the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development will make it possible to fill the women's rights enshrined in the USSR Constitution with more weighty material substance.

In response to questions, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that women play an active role in our public life and in all spheres of production. They comprise 50 percent of all workers in the economy. Questions of improving women's working conditions are constantly at the center of government attention. The range and volume of services to alleviate their household chores are broadening. More and more new enterprises are mastering the production of consumer goods. Other additional capacities are also being sought in order to saturate the market with goods. Work is under way on a program to convert military production. Some 40 percent of the output of defense complex enterprises is destined for peaceful purposes. This share will rise to 50 percent and 60 percent in 1991 and 1995 respectively.

In the course of the conversation the participants discussed Soviet women's active participation in restructuring and in the implementation of the radical economic reform and pointed out their important role in renewing all aspects of society's life. According to statistics, there are more than 1.4 million women at the head of enterprises and organizations in our country, including approximately 500,000 in industry. In this respect the political and economic reforms being implemented in the country and the transition from administrative edicts to economic methods are opening up new possibilities.

A large proportion of the conversation was devoted to broadening glasnost in the work of the government. The Council of Ministers is interested in ensuring that decisions are elaborated, practically implemented, and monitored in truly democratic forms that are not only able to be supervised by the public but also with its active and direct participation. Tens of millions of people have now obtained for the first time with the aid of television an opportunity to see the "technology" of government operations and gain a deeper grasp of problems worrying them.

The participants in the international press club of women journalists wished the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers success in implementing restructuring and in achieving the aims set. For his part, N.I. Ryzhkov cordially congratulated the meeting's participants on the 8 March holiday.

'Reasonable Limits' on Economic Restrictions Sought

PM0903144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Lopukhin "Viewpoint" article: "About Whom Cocom Is Concerned"]

[Text] For almost 40 years—since November 1949—the role of watchdog preventing the development of trade and economic cooperation between East and West has been played by Cocom—the coordinating committee for controls on exports to socialist countries. Cocom now consists of the NATO countries minus Iceland and plus Japan. Set up on the initiative of the United States, which holds dominant positions on the committee, Cocom was conceived as an insuperable barrier to prevent the possible leak of military technology through trade. But, thanks to U.S. efforts, it has expanded its field of activity on an extraordinary scale. Not content with control over military and semi-military products and technology, Cocom tries to pass—or, to be more precise, to prevent from passing—as large a proportion of exports as possible through its fine sieve.

The definition "voluntary-compulsory" is perhaps a fairly accurate reflection of the nature of relations within Cocom. Officially, it operates on a voluntary basis, with lists compiled according to a consensus principle, but, despite this, unanimity—although purely outward—is not easily achieved. Situations have repeatedly arisen where the United States has pressured its own allies, threatening sanctions against transgressors of Cocom regulations. For example, Western Europe's microelectronics industry depends on the United States for some 80 percent of its components and so, in the event of disobedience, the United States immediately threatens to stop supplying them. In every case of "dissidence," the United States stages via Cocom a public execution of the violators of the convention, so that the lesson does not go unheeded by the others. In the last 2 years very public fines have been levied against the Japanese company "Toshiba Kikai" and the Norwegian company "Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk".... And two staffers of the company "Daikin Kogyo" were arrested in Japan recently on charges of violating Cocom regulations.

Essentially, Cocom gives the United States the opportunity to oversee the development of new technologies in Western Europe and Japan and control their export. The policy of this supranational body clearly encroaches on the sovereignty of these countries and runs counter to their legislation guaranteeing freedom of enterprise, and also to international agreements—for example, those within the framework of the EEC or GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

"The irony," Norway's AFTENPOSTEN has stressed, "is that the very country and circles which make the most fuss about human rights; the free exchange of goods, services, and information; and freedom of speech and expression of opinions are the ones now weaving an increasingly extensive net of restrictive measures in spheres of vitally great significance for the future development of mankind."

Cocom is a vestige of the "cold war" founded on a desire for military superiority, which in our time no longer guarantees reliable security. The restructuring in our country and the new political thinking are perceptibly changing the situation in the world and undermining the once seemingly unshakable doctrines of confrontation. In these conditions, attempts to fence oneself off from the interconnected processes of world development via various sanctions or restrictive lists appear increasingly illogical and ineffectual. To an ever-increasing extent all countries and peoples are linked by the bonds of global problems and their common destiny. The security of any country can only be guaranteed in a secure world.

Now that the last Soviet soldier has left Afghanistan, the ground has been cut from beneath the feet of those who are most zealous in their insistence on economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In the West more and more businessmen and politicians are speaking out in favor of lifting bans on exports to socialist countries of many types of high-technology products, particularly in connection with the organization of cooperation between CEMA and the EEC. It should not be thought, however, that the positions of right-wing forces have radically changed. For example, the "Heritage Foundation," an ultraconservative U.S. organization, recently published recommendations for the new U.S. Administration for the nineties, "Leadership Mandate-III," in which it not only proposes tightening controls over trade with the East but also fining those who turn a blind eye to Cocom "blacklists."

According to Western press reports, in April and June the Cocom members will review their restrictive lists. It would be naive to hope that trade exchange of military products and technology is going to begin between East and West, but, in my opinion, the present Cocom restrictions should be reduced to reasonable limits so that they do not impede mutually advantageous economic cooperation, which plays an important role in strengthening international security.

Delegation Leaves for Parliamentary Conference

LD0903145389 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Alexey Yeliseyev, deputy chairman of the Soviet Parliamentary Group, left Moscow on Thursday to take part in the 81st conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Yuriy Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet Parliamentary Group, and other officials.

United States & Canada

Embassy Strongly Protests Arrest of Soviet Attache

Seen as Attempt To Damage Ties

LD1003095489 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 10 TASS—The Soviet Embassy has protested strongly to the U.S. Department of State this Thursday about a provocation against Yuriy Pakhtusov, a Soviet military diplomat. The State Department has pronounced him persona non grata and ordered him out of the country for "engaging in activities incompatible with his diplomatic status". According to Nick Walsh, a spokesman of the Washington FBI Department, Lieutenant-Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov, assistant military attache, was arrested Wednesday night in Virginia, near Washington, in the act of receiving "secret documents" from an employee of an American company dealing in "classified government information".

Putting it mildly, the FBI man has sinned against the truth. Everything happened in quite a different way. There was no "red-handed" catch, no "secret" envelope, to which he referred, and which allegedly contained documents on "how the U.S. Government protects computer secrets", which, as Walsh proudly declared, Pakhtusov "had no time" to study.

True, he "had no time" to do it, because he never held them in his hands. As a matter of fact, Pakhtusov was not even "arrested", but rudely grabbed in violation of all rules pertaining to diplomats and contrary to elementary human norms of behaviour in general.

FBI agents nabbed Pakhtusov late on Wednesday evening, when he left his flat to discard rubbish into a refuse chute before going to bed. He was in his slippers, sports trousers and singlet... It is obvious that no one would go to a clandestine rendezvous, to get secret documents, in such garb, the more so in rather frosty weather. It was unusually cold for this time of the year in Washington this Wednesday with much snow and slippery ice on the pavements.

It was through this snow, in slippers and singlet, that Pakhtusov was dragged to a car and handcuffed. He was not allowed to go back and get dressed, to see his wife, who remained home with two children, not knowing what happened to her husband who had gone out only for a few seconds. He was denied the right to prove his identity documentarily, and, consequently, to confirm his diplomatic immunity. And, finally, he was not allowed to get in touch with the embassy. In the meantime, even a murderer is entitled to one telephone call in the U.S.A. when arrested...

In the car, and then in the Washington FBI Department, where he was taken, futile attempts were made to persuade Pakhtusov to betray his country. He was offered large sums of money and subjected to intimidation. The Soviet military diplomat did not fall for the lure and refused to turn traitor. Seeing that their attempts were futile, the FBI agents permitted him several hours afterwards, late at night, to phone the Soviet Embassy. On Thursday, after studying the case carefully, the embassy replied to the State Department's insinuations by saying that Pakhtusov had not committed any actions incompatible with his status.

Who needed all this affair and what is behind it? No truth can obviously be expected from those who know the exact answers to these questions. It is only left for us to presume that not everybody in the United States is pleased with the long-awaited thaw in relations between the two superpowers. Not everyone is apparently pleased that ever growing numbers of Americans are lately showing sympathy with what is happening in the Soviet Union, displaying unconcealed interest in the ongoing processes in our country, are refusing to perceive it in the old light, are rejecting the "enemy image", foisted upon them for decades. Somebody needs this image, somebody thinks it pays to present Soviet diplomats as "spies" and to adduce non-existing "evidence" for this purpose. This, apparently, is the reason behind the unseemly affair.

Attache Senior GRU Officer

AU1003104089 Paris AFP in English 1028 GMT 10 Mar 89

[For further reportage on Gennadiy Gerasimov's remarks at the 10 March news briefing, see the "Worldwide Issues" section of today's DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (AFP)—The expulsion of a Soviet military attache ordered Thursday by the United States was a "provocation" engineered by people "who do not want a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the United States," Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov complained here Friday.

He denied a State Department assertion that the attache, Lieutenant-Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov, had been "engaging in activities incompatible with his diplomatic status", a euphemism for spying.

The State Department said Col. Pakhtusov had obtained documents from an employee of a U.S. firm dealing with the way the government protected sensitive information in computer systems. The company was not named.

Col. Pakhtusov, 35, said by one U.S. government source to be a senior member of the Red Army's intelligence branch GRU, took up his post in Washington last June. The American employee reported an initial contact in August to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which mounted a six-month surveillance operation and picked up the attache last Wednesday as documents were being handed over, officials said.

The Soviet Embassy in Washington, delivering what it termed a "resolute protest" to the State Department, said the action against its attache "could be only qualified as a deliberate provocation against a Soviet diplomat".

It said the military attache "did not commit any action incompatible with his status".

* Bush Urges Continued Military Buildup

WA0803054689 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 5

[Report by TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev: "Speech by G. Bush"]

[Text] Washington, 7 March—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev reports: Major changes are taking place in the world today, but America must still consolidate it military might and pursue a "from-a-position-of-strength" policy. This was the basic theme of a speech made Monday by President of the United States George Bush at the annual conference of the conservative Veterans of Foreign Wars organization.

In his speech, which was of a programmed nature, the White House chief dwelled in detail on the main directions of policy in the field of national security, and also the problems the United States is encountering in the international arena. The President noted that on the initiative of his administration, explorations in strategic directions continue.

"I am convinced that this important analysis and important experience will bring long-term advantages for our national security," G. Bush said. Here, he called for a buildup and strengthening of U.S. military power. "Today, America is strong and its voice is heard, and its forces are in a state of combat readiness... The secret of our success will be evaluated in one word—strength." The President asserted that the United States "cannot allow itself mistakenly to think that the more stable international surroundings" can serve as proof that it is possible to reduce military spending. "We must maintain and modernize our forces, nuclear and conventional... We must make agreed efforts to transform our technological advantages into a source that provides advantages for our security, and in my view this includes, in particular, energetic efforts to go forward with the Strategic Defense Initiative."

G. Bush emphasized U.S. readiness, if so required when its "interests and ideals are threatened by danger," to resort to the use of military force.

U.S. Experts Praise Soviet CFE Proposals

LD0903160489 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

The Arms Control Association, one of the most prestigious public organisations of the United States, uniting disarmament experts of the country, has arranged a press briefing here this Wednesday to assess the proposals outlined in Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's statement at the Vienna meeting of foreign ministers of 33 European states, U.S.A. and Canada, which marked the beginning of negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe [CFE] and of talks on confidence- and security-building measures.

The briefing was attended by Stanley R. Sloan, leading expert of the Congressional Research Service and specialist in U.S. alliance relations, Doctor John Steinbrunner, professor of Brookings Institution, and Doctor Barry Blechman, a leading official of the "Defence Forecast" research company.

Stanley Sloan noted that the Soviet Union was not only manifesting readiness to reduce conventional armed forces and armaments, but was showing a desire to secure such a reduction. In his opinion, the Soviet proposals should be qualified as a very serious beginning of the negotiations.

John Steinbrunner pointed out that the Soviet Union was now evolving a new streamlined security concept, based primarily on a defensive military doctrine. He qualified the Soviet proposals as solid, very well substantiated and reasonable. The professor noted that they were an upshot of broad consultations among Warsaw Treaty nations. He stressed that the main principles of this concept corresponded fully to the interests of U.S. and NATO security. The American expert believes that the West should not ignore the Soviet proposals, which are extremely concrete and minutely detailed. The Soviet-proposed all-embracing plans for military restructuring, if implemented, may improve substantially the state of European security, he pointed out.

Comparing the stand of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation to that of the United States and NATO, Barry Blechman noted, in turn, that NATO, as distinct from the Warsaw Treaty nations, has still no common platform on the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional hardware in Europe. In his opinion, the North Atlantic bloc is actually compelled to strike a "defensive stance". Blechman said that such difficulties in the alliance are responsible for retarded answers to Eastern initiatives. He noted that the West's stand did not envisage any fundamental transformations of the security system in Europe.

Speaking further of NATO's proposals, Doctor Blechman drew attention to the disproportions with which they are fraught. He stressed that implementation of these plans would result in an unproportional reduction of Soviet forces. In his opinion, the Soviet Union had every right to insist on an identical reduction of American forces in Europe.

The American experts have acknowledged that serious problems could arise during the discussion of questions linked with the reduction of naval forces, because the United States had an appreciable advantage over the USSR in this domain.

China

PRC Hopes NATO, Warsaw Pact Will Cut Arms

LD0903204589 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Beijing March 9 TASS—China hopes that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO will have serious negotiations and reach agreement on considerable cuts in conventional troops and armaments, said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Zhaoxing at a briefing, which was held here on Thursday.

The cuts would be a contribution to peace and security in Europe and the whole world and promote relaxation of tension in international relations.

USSR, PRC Favor Closing of Foreign Bases

OW0903024789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] Let us discuss a pressing international issue, that is, military presences on foreign soil.

As we have already reported, the 6 March PRAVDA published an article on this issue in the special column, Viewpoint from Moscow, which was entitled: No Bases, It's Fine. The article confirms the Soviet readiness to hold dialogue with the United States on concrete questions regarding reduction of troops on foreign soil. On this, please listen to our observer Mulatov's following commentary:

First of all, let us compare the Soviet and the Chinese stand on the issue of military presences in foreign countries. Obviously, we are certain that there are many identical points in the principled stand taken by our two countries. Both China and the Soviet Union hold that it is anachronistic to set up military bases in foreign countries, because the world is divided into [words indistinct] troops. Questions in this aspect have been discussed during high level political consultations between our two countries. For example, during Chinese Foreign Minister Comrade Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow at the end of last year, the Soviet Union explained its basic standpoint that military means used as political means are already outdated, and that in principle, any form of military presence should be confined to a country's own borders. The Soviet Union holds that the time has come for gradual and stage-by-stage closure of military bases in foreign countries. The Soviet Union produced a relevant proposal at the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament.

This is how the current objective situation looks: The United States has the most military bases on foreign soil. Therefore, obviously, without U.S. participation, it will be impossible to constructively and realistically solve the question on reducing and gradually closing military bases in foreign countries. I would like to remind listeners that U.S. military bases have been set up in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Turkey, and a number of countries in Europe and other regions. The Soviet Union has proposed that it and the United States take immediate action, on a reciprocal basis, to reduce the U.S. and Soviet military bases in third countries. Should the United State agree to close its military bases in the Philippines, the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate with the Vietnamese Government on closing the naval material supply and technical logistics base in Cam Ranh Bay. As is known to all, should the North Atlantic Treaty Organization stop the deployment of F-16 fighters in Italy, the Soviet Union would withdraw a corresponding number of air force units deployed in forward positions in Eastern Europe.

In short, as the above PRAVDA article has stressed, it requires aspirations to conduct dialogue on concrete matters.

Northeast Asia

ROK Ties, Kim Yong-sam Visit Discussed

SK0403020689 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean 2 March 89 p 2

[Interview with Soviet journalist Vitaliy Ignatenko, editor of NEW TIMES, by reporter Pyon Yong-sik; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Mr Vitaliy Ignatenko, a prominent Soviet journalist who is currently an editor of the Soviet Union's authoritative magazine NEW TIMES and formally vice president of TASS News Agency, has come to Seoul. It is his second visit to Korea since the Olympics. The NEW TIMES, which deals with political issues, is published in Russian and 9 other languages, including English, French, and German, and has a circulation of 600,000 (48 pages) in 104 nations. I met with him and listened to his views on recent Korea-Soviet relations.

[Pyon Yong-sik] How much development has there been in Korean-Soviet relations, especially economic relations, since the Olympics?

[Vitaly Ignatenko] On 1 April the Soviet Chamber of Commerce will open in Seoul.

This is a beginning. Since relations between the two countries started from zero, even a small success has the significance of a great success. What is most important is to have a mutually convenient and advantageous partnership. In March a large group of Seoul's entrepreneurs will visit Moscow and Khabarovsk. They will have many

talks with their Soviet partners. A sincere and cooperative door is open in the Soviet society and economy, and the prospects in relations between the two countries are desirable. Because of structural differences in the economy, cooperation with Korea is more advantageous to us than with Japan.

[Pyon] What are the prospects in political relations between the two countries?

[Ignatenko] It is an issue to consider after economic relations between the two countries become more intimate. It is too early to have a view on political relations.

[Pyon] There is a competition among Korea's opposition party leaders to visit the Soviet Union. Do you know about this?

[Ignatenko] On this occasion I would like to reveal that currently there is progress by the Soviet side in preparations for Kim Yong-sam, president of the Reunification Democratic Party to visit the Soviet Union. President Kim was invited by Primakov, chief of Moscow's Institute of World Economy and International Relations. His visit will be in late May or early June. Through this interview I would like to convey the invitation to President Kim Yong-sam.

[Pyon] Why was President Kim Yong-sam chosen first to be invited rather than other politicians?

[Ignatenko] His political program and line is well known in the Soviet Union and he had an opportunity to convey his position to the Soviet press.

[Pyon] How much change do you foresee in North Korea's policy toward foreign countries?

[Ignatenko] I can only speak in general terms on that issue. Political leaders in every country have to find a new way to solve international problems. From that viewpoint, there are possibilities for change on the Korean peninsula. There are already changes taking place in your country. North-South parliamentary talks are being pushed forward, visits to North Korea by compatriots abroad are being allowed, and doors are open to information on North Korea. What is becoming an issue is that the U.S. troops in Korea and the "Team-Spirit" exercise are making North Korea anxious.

[Pyon] What do you think about student demonstrations and anti-Americanism in Korea?

[Ignatenko] That is your country's problem and we are only observing it.

[Pyon] What are the complaints of young Soviets and how do they express their dissatisfaction?

[Ignatenko] They are dissatisfied about the slow progress in Gorbachev's restructuring policy, bureaucracy, and on delay in development in special regions. They are currently participating in the political reform.

Japan-USSR Exchange Association Holds Plenum
OW0903102789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The Japan-USSR Exchange Association [JUEA] aims at developing goodneighborly relations between the two nations and strengthening friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Representatives from over 20 labor unions and social organizations, as well as scientists, intellectuals, and activists from various circles, attended a plenary session of the association. Also present was a delegation from the Soviet Union led by (Nikolay Gonzalev), member of the Moldavia Communist Party Central Committee's Secretariat. The association's activities last year and its planned tasks for this year were discussed at the plenary session.

The plenary session approved a protocol for cooperation programs signed between the JUEA and the USSR Association for Cultural Exchanges With Foreign Countries. The programs include a joint Japan-USSR symposium, [words indistinct], exchanges of student and tourist delegations, [words indistinct], film festivals, and other activities planned in various localities during fiscal 1989.

(Koji Usumi), noted physicist, dietman, and JUEA president, addressed the participants of the plenary session. He pointed out that the Soviet Union had taken the lead in the disarmament movement, and that it had been playing an extremely favorable role in the intermediate [words indistinct].

President (Usumi) spoke highly of the restructuring and democratic reform carried out in the Soviet Union and expressed the hope that the Soviet people will succeed in these great causes. President (Usumi) also said: Major tasks among the JUEA activities are publicizing in the international arena the [words indistinct] as well as the restructuring efforts of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the association should enhance new forms of cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. If the restructuring program is successful, Japan's new [words indistinct] can be devoted to the activities of promoting friendship with the Soviet Union.

The JUEA is a goodwill organization without an excessively large membership. But its members include well-known scientists, intellectuals, and businessmen in Japan, and it has actively promoted cooperation with other goodwill organizations in Japan and maintained friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet Ambassador to Japan Solovyev also addressed the plenary session.

U.S. Condones Revival of Japanese Militarism

OW0903192489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program; Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Let us examine our history. Fifty-seven years ago, that is, on 1 March 1932, a puppet state, Manchukuo, was founded in China's northeast provinces, occupied by Japan in the wake of aggression waged by its militarist rulers. In this connection, our station commentator Nikolayev writes:

What did the Japanese rulers at the time think about the establishment of this so-called state? The Japanese national conference on 5 August 1932 made a frank statement on this question: Manchukuo should become an instrument of Japan's policy and a reliable base for advocating imperial rule in Asia. In other words, Manchukuo should become a base for stepping up aggression against China, for the preparation of war against the Soviet Union, and for conducting war with other countries. After invading northeast China, the Japanese propaganda apparatus began to publicly promote the concept of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere on a wide scale. It called the establishment of Manchukuo a gift from Japan to the Asian people in their march toward political independence.

Everyone knows the real results of Japanese militarist policy brought upon the Asian people. Some 3 million Japanese sacrificed their lives for the arrogant, criminal ambitions of the Japanese militarists. Japan had the wishful thinking of [words indistinct]. The Asian people paid dearly as victims of Japanese aggression. Several million Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indonesians, and other nationals fell victim to Japanese aggression.

The significance of historical events and their commemoration lies in the fact that they make people think about the past and draw lessons from it. It should be emphatically pointed out that another group with tremendous power is on the rise in Japan. This group does not want to learn from the past. On the contrary, it is trying to distort the facts of historical events to serve its own purpose. There are many examples. On 18 February, Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita proposed to put aside, for the time being, the question of whether Japan was an aggressor and to leave this question to the future to decide. His remarks aroused strong indignation in China and other countries in Asia. Such reaction is only fair. The reaction forced the Japanese prime minister to explain his remarks and to talk softly to lessen the wave of criticism at home and abroad. However, who can guarantee that another top Japanese official will not come forward in the future to defend the crimes committed by the Japanese warmongers in the 1930's and 1940's. I do not think anyone can guarantee this.

The Japanese prime minister is not the first to try to distort historical facts. Action taken by the Japanese has not been unintentional. Several days ago, Pyongyang's NODONG SINMUN wrote: What usually lies behind these remarks are the dangerous schemes of Japan's reactionary forces to revive Japanese militarism. Washington has condoned such action in order to persuade Japan to take an active part in U.S. war preparations in the Far East.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Science, Trade Ties Developing

HK1003090589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] The beginning of March sees two very important events in the field of Soviet-Philippine relations. Secretary for Science and Technology Antonio Arizabal has just visited the Soviet Union. Secretary for Trade and Industry Jose Concepcion will be arriving in Moscow. Our correspondent Sergei (Dvinsov) writes on development issues:

During meetings held by Arizabal in Moscow with Soviet officials, bilateral cooperation on various scientific and technical issues was discussed. His first meeting was with chief of the State Committee on Science and Technology Deputy Minister (Barista Svis). Antonio Arizabal also met with head of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology Yuriy Izrael. The Filipino minister then signed a document, capping consultations involving Soviet-Philippine cooperation in the field of meteorology. During the talks, members of the joint panel on research on tropical meteorology conducted studies on typhoons so as to be able to implement preventive measures.

There was also an exchange of opinions on the direction that scientific and technical projects will take, and how they will be implemented. Both sides agreed to set up a joint Soviet-Philippine meteorological laboratory. A conclusion was reached on the need for both governments to sign an agreement on cooperation in this field. The drafting and signing of this document may take until the end of the year.

Unlike in the meteorological field, the two countries already have existing cooperation on trade and development issues, but the range of cooperation has not yet reached the level of their development potential. For example, the Soviet Union could increase its equipment exports to the Philippines, as well as importing more products from the Philippines.

With regard to present development reforms in developing countries, various perspectives on new aid initiatives are being considered. For example, the Soviet Union is studying the feasibility of setting up a solid fuel power plant in the province of Isabela. That project has been proposed to the Philippines. Another project involves the movement of cargo between the Philippines and the Far Eastern portion

of the USSR. This was discussed in September last year by a delegation of experts from the Federation of Russia [as heard], the largest Soviet republic. The setting up of joint ventures in various economic fields was also discussed. Various proposals will be studied during the visit to the Soviet Far East by Philippine Assistant Secretary of Trade and Industry Raul Boncan, when he accompanies Secretary Concepcion to Moscow.

In the view of Soviet businessmen, there are good prospects in the field of fisheries. But fishing vessels from both countries must be allowed to fish in Soviet and Philippine waters.

The opportunities to expand and develop economic cooperation between both countries are not few in number. The Soviet Union hopes for success in all levels of these cooperative ventures with the Philippines. The present contacts being made by Philippine and Soviet officials are certain to promote these endeavors.

PRAVDA Urges End to Foreign Military Bases

HK1003095789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 9 Mar 89

["Excerpts" from an article in PRAVDA entitled: "One Can Live Without the Bases"]

[Text] The article discusses the military bases problem and offers solutions.

According to the PRAVDA article, the United States has a total of 125 big bases outside its territory. They constitute the most important military force of the country. This is claimed to be the cause of tension in the world. The newspaper believes that the time has come for people to live without foreign bases in their territories. This will further improve the world situation.

PRAVDA refers to the situation during the years following the war. The quality of life in the world changed. There was a more profound change in the international level due to dialogues between the Soviet Union and the United States—the agreement on the medium- and short-range missiles. This accord has brought about concrete results. Besides the reduction in the number of missiles, the need for the bases is also being eliminated.

Great Britain has said it will close down Molesworth base and that the 160 U.S. cruise missiles will no longer be stored there. Greenham Common base may be closed in 3 years. The foreign military base in (Pomizia), Italy may also be dismantled together with its cruise missiles.

All those with an interest in the retention of foreign military bases would say that the host countries are following the precept of usefulness. However, the PRAVDA article says that the cause of all the misunderstanding is economic interests. It is obvious that money does not play a decisive role because the presence of U.S. military bases in foreign territories is always criticized.

The radical line is the result of national awareness in the host countries in which the U.S. has its bases. The people themselves would like to manage their own affairs and enjoy sovereignty in their territories. Obviously, security that benefits only one party will not prevail in this world; and a united practical effort is necessary to terminate foreign military bases.

This line of thought is being followed by the Soviet Union in its initiatives in tackling the issue of foreign military bases. The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to stop supplying material and technical equipment in Cam Ranh Bay in the SRV if the United States will withraw its military bases from the Philippines; or if NATO will agree not to deploy its F-16 target bomber, which was rejected by Spain, the Soviet Union might transfer its similar air weapons to bases in Eastern Europe. PRAVDA claims there are concrete topics for dialogue. An effective solution to the military bases problem must be found.

'Thawing' of Indonesia-PRC Ties Praised

BK1003040289 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Oleg Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Once more, the (?process) of good-neighborliness in Asia can be seen from news received from Tokyo. Suharto, president of the Republic of Indonesia, and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who attended the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito, reached an agreement on the thawing of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Indeed, the news did not come as a surprise since it had been long awaited. In recent years, the need for the normalization had been discussed, but had met insurmountable obstacles, such as the timing.

Why has the time now come? The easiest and simplest answer is the change in Asia's political arena. China has closed its historical era associated with the tragic Cultural Revolution. At present, China is a dynamic and more open country pursuing economic reforms. China has become a more attractive place for businessmen from the region. On the other hand, the sentiment of ASEAN leaders about China's real or phony threat has increasingly diminished. It is appropriate to recall that this factor was one of the reasons that motivated five Southeast Asian countries to establish an association in the late 1960's which also had a negative impact on Indonesian-Chinese relations. The flashback is appropriate in order to better understand the reasons for past hostilities under present circumstances.

The normalization of relations is a new qualitative stage. It is a desire to maintain close relations and activate direct contacts. The U.S. daily THE WASHINGTON POST presented an interesting version. China, the daily wrote, is making efforts to maintain relations with Southeast Asian countries to counter the Soviet Union's

diplomatic offensive in the region. Indeed, the Soviet Union is putting a serious emphasis on the development of relations with Asian countries. For example, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was in Tokyo, Manila, and Pyongyang recently. A representative Soviet delegation visited Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. Eduard Shevardnadze also held talks with his Chinese counterpart, leading to an agreement on a Sino-Soviet summit next May. Obviously, the Soviet Union's diplomatic activities are aimed at accelerating the process of normalizing relations among many countries.

In this regard, it would be appropriate to note the following matters. Prominent trends toward the normalization of relations in the Asia-Pacific region are based on a greater understanding of how interrelated and interdependent the process taking place in the region is. This can only be controlled through (?smooth) coordination. The decade-long experience has also shown that confrontational thinking led to a deadlock. Addressing the United Nations, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the future progress of the world will be possible through a universal human consensus on the way to a new world order. His remarks can fully apply to Asia. Indeed, the expansion of the new political thinking, which essentially includes nonconfrontation, demilitarization, relations between countries regardless of their ideologies, the superiority of human interests, and the freedom of every nation, has pushed a breakthrough in Asia. The desire to maintain normal relations, for example the thawing of Indonesian-Chinese relations, is a manifestation of this breakthrough. However, this step is just a beginning. In the future, greater efforts will have to be exerted to consolidate a return to mutual trust and cooperation. Such action needs a combination of efforts.

The proposals Mikhail Gorbachev presented in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk can serve as a good basis for the combination of efforts in the interest of peace. He called for a common search for means toward the integrated consolidation of peace and the establishment of a mechanism for the peaceful settlement of challenges. In the meantime, such challenges in the region are not few. First of all, unresolved conflicts such as the Cambodian issue need full attention. It seems impossible to find a way out without the active participation of all parties involved and without taking into account the positions of China and Indonesia. In this regard, great efforts have been already exerted, thus making the prospects of a political settlement brighter. Hopefully, the Jakarta-Beijing agreement on the thawing of diplomatic relations will contribute to further progress.

The decision made by President Suharto and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Tokyo has also received responses outside Asia. For example, there have been demands in the United States that President George Bush quickly chart a policy toward the region. In our opinion, the U.S. President's trip to Japan, China, and South Korea and his talks with leaders of other Asian countries will have an impact. The region is awaiting Washington's reaffirmation and appropriately hopes that it will be (?a common sense approach), taking into account the reality that an ambitious desire to deceive other people will not have an impact on the U.S. President's decision.

In the meantime, REUTER, quoting diplomatic sources, said that the Beijing-Jakarta agreement has paved the way for the normalization of relations between China and Singapore. Thus, the process of good-neighborliness continues.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Rebels Attack Jalalabad Airport

LD0903185789 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 9 TASS—The united forces of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and groups of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar and Yunis Khalis, backed by artillery fire, on Monday launched a major attack on the defense positions of Jalalabad from southern and southeastern directions. According to reports reaching here, they managed to advance by 1.5-4.5 kilometers.

The combat operations in Jalalabad became especially fierce following the direct involvement of irregular troops from Pakistani tribes and the infiltration of military advisers from Pakistan into the region. The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that extremist groups, which operated along the Kabul-Jalalabad road, made numerous attempts to cut this important supply line. In the past few days, however, a large convoy with arms, ammunition and army reserves managed to get through.

Thanks to artillery and air strikes the government troops contained the rebels onslaught in the evening of March 7. Today fierce fighting continued in the area of Jalalabad airport, the main target of the latest offensive, and in the area of Samarkheil [name as received], 10 km to the south, which the leaders of the "intractable" opposition quickly declared captured. Apart from the actions by tribal forces and advisors, during the hostilities there were cases of airdrops of ammunition for the antigovernment troops by helicopters from Pakistani territory.

Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim was summoned today to the Afghan Foreign Ministry to hear a resolute protest over the acts of direct aggression against Afghanistan. The statement notes that 500 Pakistani irregulars, as well as 20 American and Pakistani military instructors, infiltrated at the Torkham [name as received] checkpoint on Thursday into the area of Gaziabad Farm [name as received] in Nangarhar Province to take part in the offensive on Jalalabad. The government troops neutralized the Pakistani irregulars with artillery fire.

Also today a Pakistani fighter intruded into Afghan air space, flew a reconnaissance mission over Darbaba [name as received] District in Nangarhar Province and returned to its base.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry demanded that Pakistani authorities immediately terminate hostile actions which run counter to the generally recognised international legal norms and the provisions of Geneva accords. Otherwise, the statement concludes, all responsibility for the dangerous consequences of such activity will rest fully with Pakistan.

'Heavy Fighting' Continues in Jalalabad

LD1003095289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Heavy fighting continues in the region of the strategically important Afghan city of Jalalabad. Armed formations of the irreconcilables and government troops are engaged in batttle for control of the city's airport. As is known, on Monday the opposition started an assault on Jalalabad, and, according to reports from foreign news agencies, captured the airport. However, a counterstrike by government troops did not allow them to hold this important area. The battles are also continuing in other parts of the city.

Afghan Command on Losses, Pakistan 'Aggression'

LD0903194289 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 9 TASS—The BAKHTAR News Agency has circulated a statement of the High Military Command which said, among other things, that the armed Afghan opposition units supported by Pakistani servicemen have been engaged in fighting in the Province of Nangarhar for four days.

The opposition, in closing a deal with Pakistan and the United States, the statement continued, intended to proclaim on Thursday in Jalalabad a government formed in Islamabad. On Wednesday and Thursday Afghan Army units dealt powerful blows to the rebel forces. 1,500 enemy soldiers were put out of action. Trying to conceal considerable losses in manpower, the Pakistani military is stepping up direct aggression against Afghanistan and are engaging more and more troops. Afghan Army units which are engaged in fierce fighting and are sustaining losses, continue to give heroic resistance to the enemy. According to incoming reports, the Pakistani authorities are assuring opposition units that soon more reinforcements will be dispatched from Pakistan.

Soldiers of the Afghan Army units fighting in Nangarhar assured their compatriots that they would hold out to the last against the Pakistani aggression. We are sure that all the Afghan people will rise to defend their homeland.

Assault on Jalalabad, Kabul Situation Viewed

PM1003120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent A. Greshnov in Kabul: "Afghanistan: Fighting Under the Walls of Jalalabad"]

[Text] A statement by the Afghan Supreme Military Command was published in Kabul Wednesday evening. It states that a large number of Pakistani regular officers and men as well as advisers have been transferred to Afghanistan's Nangarhar Province.

As an Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman also pointed out, more than 1,400 Pakistani servicemen have crossed the border into five provinces in the south and east of Afghanistan. Four Pakistani military helicopters have delivered weapons to rebels in the environs of the city of Ghaziabad, West Germany's DPA reports, citing Kabul Radio. The purpose of these actions is to reinforce the armed Afghan opposition detachments in the offensive now being launched against the city of Jalalabad.

According to a REUTER correspondent, hand-to-hand fighting is taking place on the outskirts of Jalalabad, although the rebels have failed to break through the city's triple ring of defenses. Jalalabad's residents have been issued weapons, DPA reports. The majority of establishments and schools have been closed in the city, and there are hardly any vehicles on the streets. In the past few hours government troops have inflicted a number of heavy bombing strikes at the rebels' rear, but AFP believes aircraft have little room to maneuver because the opposing sides are too close to each other.

AFP reported from Islamabad on the morning of 9 March that opposition detachments had captured Jalalabad Airport after a siege lasting many hours, although REUTERS cited an "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" spokesman as saying that fighting was continuing in the airport area.

Jalalabad, a major Afghan city (population approximately 200,000) and the center of Nangarhar Province, located approximately 150 km from Kabul and 70 km from the Pakistani border, is a "tasty morsel" for the armed opposition, which wants to set up its own so-called "transitional government" there.

According to a UPI report, the leadership of the Peshawar "alliance" intends to hold the government's first session near Jalalabad in the next few days.

The opposition detachments' military offensive is accompanied by diplomatic efforts intended to ensure international recognition of the "transitional government." G. Hikmatyar, the fundamentalist leader now touring a number of Muslim countries, has met with

Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati. According to an IRNA report, the Iranian minister advocated "the formation of an Islamic government representing the entire Afghan people."

At the same time, speaking on rebel radio, "President"-Elect S. Mujadeddi repeated the opposition demands to be granted representation at the United Nations and also at the Islamic Conference Organization foreign ministers' meeting that opens in Saudi Arabia next Monday.

The Afghan authorities believe that the attempt to storm Jalalabad is directly linked to the start of that conference, as well as to the rebels' intention to secure U.S. and Pakistani official recognition of their government as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, the situation in the Afghan capital remains comparatively stable, the TASS correspondent tells us. Approximately 200 trucks have arrived there in the past few days with UN-channeled Soviet aid. Soviet wheat, he emphasizes, goes at once to elevators and then to stores. Food supplied via UN channels is being stored in warehouses to await the arrival of the international organization's special representatives. This is an enforced step designed to prevent the misappropriation of food.

Despite all the difficulties and privations, of "the country's diverse political forces, the Kabul authorities have, by all accounts, the greatest support," the prominent Swedish political expert Per Jonsson says concerning the situation in Afghanistan.

Food Convoys Arrive in Kabul; Airport Shelled

LD0903214489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Aid from the Soviet Union is continuing to arrive in the Republic of Afghanistan, correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports:

[Shkirando] [video shows snow-covered mountains, large trucks] The small town of Gangalak, [name of town as received] situated in the environs of Kabul, looks lively at present. Since the opening of the Hayratan-Kabul road, these heavy trucks, which are delivering food and the bare necessities to the Afghan capital, have been arriving here daily. In only 3 days, 700 heavy trucks have arrived in Kabul with around 3,000 tonnes of food and 4,000 tonnes of fuel. Unfortunately, despite increased security measures by government troops, extremists shelled the convoys, putting 13 gas tankers and 2 trucks out of operation not far from Kabul; and in the section of the route to the south of Charikar they damaged another 21 trucks. But the Hayratan-Kabul road is operating, nevertheless. [video shows severely dented truck] Via this same route, a convoy of trucks arrived here today with freight our country handed over to the Afghan side within the framework of the program for rendering economic and humanitarian assistance through UN channels.

[Video shows Shkirando interviewing S. Husayn, Afghanistan's planning minister, who is identified by caption]

[Begin Husayn recording in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] At the present time we are once again becoming convinced of the sincerity and devotion to friendship of our northerly neighbor. The Soviet people, understanding the full complexity of the situation in which we now find ourselves, have sent to our country food and goods absolutely indispensible for life. [end recording]

[Shkirando] We are conducting this report from the air-traffic control tower of Kabul International Airport. Just now, at 1115 Kabul time, the latest shelling of this airport with rockets started. [video shows Shkirando standing outside control tower by a grounded plane; mountains in the distance]

You can see where the rockets are falling: onto the runways and onto the technical support storehouses. They are exploding in the immediate vicinity of the civilian aircraft of the Afghan Ariana airline.

How many times of late have the service personnel had to scatter in various directions like this to save themselves from the barbaric actions of the extremists who have sworn that they are waging war for the freedom of Islam. But how can one confront their assurances with the actions we are now observing? [video shows panoramic shots of airport, smoke rising, people running; Shkirando then seen interviewing airport controller in control tower]

[Begin controller recording in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] I think everyone knows we are now in the foremost flank of the front. [as heard] One need only look at these holes in our tower windows. But, compared with the senseless deaths of people, all these are trivialities. Only yesterday four civilians died here. They died not at a military target but, it would seem, in an entirely civilian, safe place, from where even military aircraft had been removed. Indeed, it is in far from easy conditions that these Afghan technicians and our specialists serving the Moscow-Kabul air route must now work at Kabul International Airport. [end recording] [video shows inside of control tower, with six civilians seated in front of equipment; behind them is a man in military uniform]

Foreign Ministry Maps Mujahidin Pakistan Bases

PM0903162389

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8 on 19 February carries on page 1 an "MN Exclusive" entitled "Published for the First Time. MN Receives USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Document." The unattributed report reads as follows:

"During his visit to Pakistan a week and a half ago, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze passed this chart on to the Pakistani leaders. It indicates what, under the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, should long have ceased to exist on Pakistan's territory—the headquartes of the armed Afghan opposition, depots with arms and ammunition replenished by the West, training camps and rendezvous points.

"As was stressed at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the chart explicitly testifies to the fact that Islamabad is continuing to violate the Geneva accords, while the Soviet Union has honoured its commitments concerning the troop pullout.

"The past few days have been marked by an escalation of Islamabad's interference in Afghan affairs. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has announced plans to join Afghanistan to Pakistan under the guise of setting up an "islamic confederation."

"One can well understand the indignation in Kabul and the bewilderment in Moscow and other capitals. The military and reactionary circles of Pakistan want to occupy our homeland and turn it into their fifth province," Afghanistan's President Najibullah said, speaking on Kabul TV. The country's sovereignty is in jeopardy, he rightfully believes.

"The plans of the Pakistani leadership dovetail with those of the leaders of the armed Afghan opposition, one of whom, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, has long been advocating the need to join Afghanistan to Pakistan as a 'confederation'.

"The chat we publish today proves the existence of another scheme: attempts to wipe out an independent state which has been in existence for five millennia now.

"This is incompatible both with history and with the present-day norms of international law.

"For the chart showing the location of the armed Afghan opposition's force on Pakistan's territory turn to page 5."

MOSCOW NEWS publishes on page 5 a map covering part of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India and depicting "central headquarters of the Afghan oppositon groups, regional headquarters of the Afghan opposition groups, regiments, large weapon and ammunition depots, transshipping bases, training centers, and Afghan refugee camps" on Pakistani territory.

India's Gandhi Receives Kamentsev Delegation

LD0903184789 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] New Delhi March 9 TASS—India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi received on Thursday Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who led the Soviet delegation at the 12th meeting of the intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. [According to a Moscow TASS in English report transmitted at 1925 GMT on 7 March and published on page 33 of the 8 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, "Soviet Deputy Premier Vladimir Kuznetsov" heads the delegation.] Bilateral relations between India and the Soviet Union were highly appraised during the conversation. At the same time, the sides emphasized the importance of going beyond traditional commercial and economic ties, the need for intensive development of new forms of bilateral cooperation, the choice by each of the two countries of priority directions in this cooperation, upgrading commercial, economic, scientific and technical ties.

The intergovernmental commission, which ended its 12th meeting on Thursday, discussed in detail the state of and prospects for the implementation of the arrangements reached during summit meetings in 1985-1988. The sides pointed with satisfaction to considerable progress in the implementation of Soviet-Indian agreements on the construction of major industrial facilities in India, reached over the period. The sides agreed on measures to step up the pace of construction of a number of facilities, including the hydropower complex at Teri [place name as received]; Vindhyachal and Kahalgaon [place name as received] thermal power stations; the metallurgical works in Visakhapatnam, the first section of which is to go into operation as early as this year; comprehensive geological prospecting for oil and natural gas in the Cauvery River basin, in Cambay, and in West Bengal; and enterprises of the coal and other industries.

The commission pointed to the successful implementation of tasks toward increasing the volume of trade between the USSR and India 150 percent by 1992 compared to 1986. The volume of trade rose to 50 billion rupees last year and will reach 70 billion rupees in 1989. New forms of economic cooperation should be used on a larger scale to achieve the goals set. Specifically, large-scale cooperation in production between Soviet and Indian enterprises is to be established, and the setting up of joint ventures in both countries is to be accelerated. This is a feasible task that requires efforts from each side. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The volume of cooperation in production has reached one billion rupees. As many as ten joint ventures are already operating or about to start to operate.

The members of the commission agreed on closer interaction between Soviet organizations and Indian business circles. This will be promoted by a trading and commercial centre being set up in Moscow and by the establishment in the USSR of the Association for Business Cooperation With India.

The commission's meeting pointed to positive results in the implementation of a comprehensive long-term programme of scientific and technological cooperation signed on July 3, 1987. Questions connected with the

drafting of a new long-term programme of economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000 have been discussed.

Addressing the final plenary meeting of the commission on Thursday, the head of the Indian delegation, Minister of External Affairs P.V. Narasimha Rao, emphasized that the commission's work was highly constructive and that the discussions were businesslike and imbued with the spirit of mutual understanding, which is characteristic of relations between the two countries.

PLO's 'Abbas Praises USSR's Mideast Role

LD0903205989 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Amman March 9 TASS—The Soviet Union plays an important role in Mideast settlement, said Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Executive Committee. The latest steps by Soviet diplomacy and especially the recent trip of Middle Eastern countries by Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, have forcefully demonstrated the correctness of the Soviet leadership's approach to the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and solution of the Palestinian problem which is the core of this conflict.

The USSR's principled and constructive stance wins recognition in Middle Eastern countries which hold that the Soviet Union should take part in the settlement of the Middle Eastern crisis and, first and foremost, in an international conference on the Middle East, he said.

Mahmud 'Abbas expressed the hope that steps would be taken in the next six to nine months in response to Shevardnadze's proposal for convening a forum at the foreign minister level within the framework of the UN Security Council and holding talks between UN secretary-general and the parties involved in the conflict to prepare for the peace conference. The participation by the great powers and support by the international community are a decisive factor in any settlement, Mahmud 'Abbas said.

East Europe

Ligachev, CPCZ Officials Discuss Agriculture

LD0903203989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1912 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 9 Mar (TASS)—The working visit to Czechoslovakia by Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the study of the fraternal country's experience in running the agro-food complex and the work of party bodies in the countryside continue. A deep conversation about these matters took place today at the "Mir-Jesenice" agricultural cooperative, where the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited collectives, and with the family of one of the workers of a cooperative at the "Pisnice" meat combine.

During conversations with senior officials of the CPCZ Central Committee, the republic's agricultural bodies, the CPCZ Central Bohemian Regional Committee, and the Prague District Committee, great attention was given to matters pertaining to management of the agro-food complex at state, regional, and district levels. Note was taken of the high degree of profitability of the premises visited, which enables them to carry out a broad program for the social and cultural development of the countryside. There was a lively exchange of views on problems of planning, price fixing, the formation of state consumption funds, the structure of management bodies, and party work.

Ye.K. Ligachev informed Czechoslovak comrades about the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on agrarian policy.

J. Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Central Bohemian Regional CPCZ Committee; F. Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and other officials accompanied Ye.K. Ligachev during the visits and conversations., V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

At Olsany cemetery in Prague, Ye.K. Ligachev laid flowers beside the monument to the Soviet troops who died for the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

Vorotnikov Welcomes Slyunkov Back From Prague

PM0903145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, returned to Moscow from Prague on 7 March.

He was met at the airport by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.L. Musatov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and senior CPSU Central Committee staffers.

J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

Hungary's Nemeth Briefs Plenum on USSR Talks

PM0903153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "MSZMP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Budapest, 8 Mar—An information report on the 7 March MSZMP Central Committee Plenum has been published here. It discussed the draft short-term action

program for the MSZMP presented by J. Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. He noted that, in proclaiming this program, the MSZMP is striving to ensure that the relationship between party and society acquires new content under the control of all and suitable for practical use. The creation of a political system reflecting the people's will, the formation of a state governed by the rule of law, and the shaping of a modern, efficient economy that can cope with world conditions is at the center of the MSZMP's political program.

M. Nemeth, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, briefed the plenum participants on the results of his working visit to the USSR. The MSZMP Central Committee, the information report states, made a high assessment of the results of the exchange of opinions with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was reaffirmed that relations between the two countries' governments and parties are developing in a spirit of mutual understanding, autonomy [samostoyatelnost], noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and complete trust. The leaders of the USSR and Hungary are making consistent efforts to develop balanced bilateral ties and enhance the effectiveness of cooperation within CEMA.

The MSZMP Central Committee stated with satisfaction that the sides were fundamentally united in their views on the international questions under discussion. The MSZMP supports the USSR's constructive proposals to strengthen confidence between East and West and its important initiatives aimed at reducing armed forces and armaments and withdrawing armed forces from foreign territory.

Hungarian Party Aiming for 'Public Monitoring'

PM0903154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the general heading "View of Problem"]

[Text] Budapest—The technical concept of "monitoring" involves special devices constantly monitoring technological processes. But this concept, NEPSZABADSAG writes, also applies to society: All economic and political processes should be under the people's control.

There were opportunities in the past to develop "public monitoring." As a rule, however, it was enacted via certain transmissions that were burdened by bureaucratic and formal apparatuses. A new system of public control is now being created, the newspaper writes. It reflects different group interests and opinions. The leading party, the Hungarian State Assembly, the government, and all political institutions should work while taking this new control system into account. Whereas previously there was a taboo on showing certain signs of discontent, now there is a diverse range in this area: demonstrations, the organization of new trade unions, elections for leaders, demands for unsuitable leaders to resign, open discussion of pay issues, and criticism by alternative groups and movements.

The MSZMP realizes, the newspaper notes, that a more extensive and better organized social dialogue is needed. The party is prepared to accept any socialist, constitutionally based forms of public control.

Rakowski on Roundtable Talks, Reforms

PM0903114589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS political observer A. Kondrashov under the rubric "Details for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "If We Look From Warsaw"]

[Text] From Moscow you can see a long way, but all the same it is better to look at events in Poland from Warsaw—with these words Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, began a conversation with us, a group of Soviet journalists. The present Polish premier, who was once a well-known journalist himself and chief editor of the popular weekly POLITYKA for many years, understands the importance of informing the public profoundly and objectively about the Polish leadership's work and plans. So he invited Soviet journalists for conversations with representatives of the Polish leadership about the events taking place in the country. This step can only be welcomed, for it is indeed difficult to discern the whole picture of the development of events in neighboring Poland behind the stream of reports on the work of the "roundtable" at which representatives of the country's leading political forces, including the opposition, are holding talks about the strikes which break out from time to time and about the profound reforms of the Polish economy.

Our neighbors are going through a difficult time. Even the arrival of the first sunny spring days did not free most Poles from gloomy thoughts about the prosaic side of life. The sudden euphoria which had emerged among many people in connection with the opening of the roundtable discussions—which, they said, would resolve all the problems—has been replaced by indifference after a month's work. "Solidarity's" strong suit has always been its carping. And now, by clashing with individual aspects of the government's plans and putting forward individual unrealistic proposals, it really is not advancing any alternative program to resolve the country's most acute economic problems.

In a conversation with our Polish comrades many of us wondered about the expediency of the roundtable, and about the projected changes in the country's political

structure in connection with it. Here it is appropriate to cite the utterances on this score made by S. Ciosek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The opposition, he said, has never had a genuine, constructive program to resolve Poland's problems. Neither does it have such a program now. But until very recently it would put nails in the wheels of our economic mechanism with its criticism of party and government policy and the organization of strikes, and we moved slowly, lagging increasingly behind the others. We are strong enough to beat off its attacks now too. But this time we decided to come to an agreement with those who have hindered our development. It is clear that, having reached an agreement with the opposition about carrying out the economic and political reforms worked out by us, we will still not have resolved a single one of our most difficult problems. The agreement with the opposition, which imposes on it responsibility for carrying out the measures planned, will make it possible only to begin genuine work to get the country out of the crisis.

Does the Polish leadership have a general plan for this work? Yes, it does. This is a radical, extensive program of reforms based not only on new ideas and precise calculations and forecasts, but also on the dialectics of previous experience.

At the end of 1988 and the beginning of this year the newly constituted Polish Government formulated and obtained the Sejm's approval for a whole package of laws to speedily and profoundly restructure the economic mechanism. In short, it is a question of fully switching the economy to a market footing, without the state's direct participation. Its role in regulating economic life, of course, remains, but will be implemented by purely economic methods: taxes, credits, and duty. The construction of major facilities of nationwide significance will stay in the state's domain. All the rest will be switched to the enterprise and territorial self-management level.

Recently adopted laws specify that henceforth the assets of state enterprises consist of two parts—the founding capital (buildings, machinery, equipment) which belongs to the state, and the enterprise fund which belongs to the collective and can be increased through profits. Henceforth the enterprise has complete freedom to choose suppliers and customers, enter foreign markets, form the wages fund, determine prices, and obtain credit at the commercial banks which have been set up. But full independence presupposes the abolition of subsidies, high taxation of profit used for paying wages, and preferential taxation of that proportion of profit channeled into the modernization of equipment. On 15 March another important law will be introduced—on foreign currency. Dollars, marks, and rubles henceforth will become a commodity accessible to all enterprises and citizens.

It seems that the government's firm adherence to the principles of economic accountability is checking the strike fever to a certain degree. Strikes frequently break out, but they usually end the same day after talks between the trade unions and the management on increments. But they take place at the expense of the enterprise fund, and not at the state's expense. Long strikes are becoming increasingly rare because labor collectives know that henceforth there'll be no compensation from the center for stoppages.

It is already clear that the "Solidarity" trade union association and a number of other associated groupings will be legalized. But the main changes are planned for the Polish Sejm. The Polish leadership's course is directed at switching from domination by the government coalition—the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party—to competitiveness with other forces and to political pluralism. According to calculations by the Polish leadership, after the elections to the Sejm this summer the coalition of the three allied parties will have 60-70 percent of the seats. "Solidarity" declares that it is counting on 20 percent. But these are average and preliminary predictions.

The PZPR is also bearing in mind a worst-case scenario taking into account the breakdown of the three-party coalition. In this case the PZPR's minimum requirement is to keep a third of the seats in the Sejm in order to impede a change in the Constitution, which would require two-thirds of the deputies' votes. One more additional guarantee is being examined—instituting the post of a Polish president with extensive powers right up to dissolution of the Sejm and holding new elections. There are, finally, the Polish Armed Forces, which, according to all the latest public opinion polls, retains society's very deep trust and support.

But the main point, nonetheless, is not the party's building of reliable defense lines. As Comrade Ciosek said, political pluralism is a means of shaking up and enlivening the party, returning its partly lost ability to wage a political struggle for the masses.

Western capitals are watching the events in Poland more than attentively. In all these last months U.S. diplomats have literally not emerged from Gdansk, where "Solidarity's" headquarters are located, forwarding instructions and gifts of dollars.

The West, Comrade Rakowski said, continues to view Poland as the Soviet Union's soft underbelly. Yes, Western circles admire Gorbachev's restructuring, but at the same time they support all those forces in Poland which are objectively seeking to weaken the USSR. The West's attitude toward Poland, the Polish premier continued, can be compared with the attitude toward a sick person whom they want to keep alive but whom they do not

allow to recover. So he continues to stay in bed, gets bedsores, and breathes stuffy air. The West will not change this attitude toward us. We have to open the window for ourselves....

So, the window is open to the fresh wind of change. How long the recovery process will take is difficult to say from the outside. The Polish people themselves must answer this question. But in contrast to the West we wish and will do everything possible to ensure that fraternal Poland will be not only healthy but also strong and thriving.

Jaruzelski Aide Notes Causes for Optimism

LD0603232389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with W. Gornicki, aide to First Secretary of the PZPR Wojciech Jaruzelski, by correspondent Solovyev; date and place not given—live or recorded; Gornicki begins in Russian and lapses into Polish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on biography of Jaruzelski]

[Solovyev] Comrade Gornicki, how would you describe the domestic political situation that has come about in Poland?

[Gornicki] In brief, one may say that the experiment is continuing. Excuse me, but I prefer to speak in Polish. To be frank, I would answer your question willingly in 2 weeks, when the sitting of the roundtable is to end. Only then will we know precisely at what point we are in our renewal and in our reforms.

Today I will note three points that are cause for optimism in the country. First, both the government coalition and the opposition are now convinced that the difficulties Poland is enduring can only be defeated through joint efforts. The second point is that a whole series of issues have already been agreed on, issues on which it seemed impossible to reach agreement 6 months ago. In any case, that is better than confrontation. The third point is that all the leading public forces in the country are interested in the new structure of state power and in the new social and political measures.

* 'Nationalist' Developments in Kosovo Decried

WA18070548 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 10, 8 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by V. Kuznetsov: "Hard Times in the Yugoslav Land"]

[Text] The events occurring these days in Kosovo, Slovenia, and Croatia are like underground shock waves of a great destructive force, shaking the political terrain of multinational Yugoslavia.

The 8-day "underground strike" of the miners of the "Trepca" mining-metallurgical complex, which advanced purely political demands, opened many people's eyes to the intentions of the counterrevolution, gradually in the making over 8 long years, that the Kosovo autonomous province be turned into "an ethnically pure republic" and united with Albania. The counterrevolutionaries' secret "Headquarters Document," which was made public, envisions three stages in the grab for power: a general strike, taking over industrial enterprises of national economic significance, and armed uprising.

This can only be some sort of nightmare! It happens that in this autonomous province, part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, nationalists and separatists occupying high party and economic posts, organized their own sort of "mafia" in the Kosovo fashion, and wove the threads of a serious conspiracy, unstoppable even up to the point of sacrificing their own people.

Recently, the SFRY security organs arrested Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, and Burhan Kavaja. The first is a member of the province committee of the Kosovo League of Communists Central Committee. The second is the general director of the "Trepca" mining-metallurgical complex, and the third is the mine director at the Stari Trg location. "Their arrest should have been expected," Yugoslav press agency TANJUG laconically noted. "The counterrevolution has been presented with the bill."

A mighty wave of anger swept over the country's cities and villages. In a single burst, the people entered a decisive battle for the Yugoslav federal system, which builds socialism on the basis of self-management.

To supplement the combined detachment posted there, tanks and armored cars were dispatched to Kosovo by the federal secretariat for internal affairs. Strategic sites were taken under control; citizens' movement was restricted. All of the plants and factories started to work again; pupils and students got back to their lessons, and stores and cafes reopened.

It will take time for the nationalist passions to die down, for the normalization of Yugoslavia's "boiling point" situation. But perhaps the first and most important step toward the resolution of the burning Kosovo drama has been taken.

Yugoslavia is not living under clear skies. Complex processes are taking place in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Hercegovina. The popular Belgrade newspaper VECERNE NOVOSTI assessed the recent mass rally in Ljubljana (Slovenia) in support of the counterrevolution as an act of "moral and political scandal." New political groupings multiply here in Slovenia under cover of the development of democracy. They promote aggressive programs, set Slovenes against Serbs and representatives of other nationalities, distracting people from creative labor.

One other "nationalistic abscess" has erupted in Croatia: the establishment of the Croatian Democratic League. This, essentially, is a new political party stuck together by former General Franjo Tudjman, with the aim of reviving the concept of the "Croatian spring" of 1971, of "shattering socialism in Yugoslavia and creating a new form of federalism." The press characterized the appearance on the SFRY political scene of this newborn party as "a dangerous poker game."

Kosovo Commander Cited on 'Enemy Activity'

LD0503204489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by political observer Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] Yugoslav television has provided us with a television interview with Major General Silic, commander of the Pristina garrison.

He stated that the latest events in Kosovo, behind which are the forces of nationalism and separatism, pose a threat to the normal production process, public order, and the personal safety of the citizens of the autonomous province.

In keeping with an order of the Presidium of Yugoslavia, troop units deployed in Kosovo have been placed in a state of combat readiness, and security and self-defense measures have been reinforced.

We must cut off the enemy activity which threatens the constitutional order of Yugoslavia, said the general. We have been given the task, he stressed, of restoring the seriously undermined interethnic trust and of reviving the unity and fraternity of the peoples of Yugoslavia. We shall allow no one to toy with Yugoslavia's fate, stated Maj Gen Silic. [video shows the general talking to a correspondent in vernacular against a background of two armored personnel carriers; several APC's apparently on a training exercise on muddy terrain, with troops emerging from the rear of the vehicles and rushing over open ground]

West Europe

Norwegian Parliament Group Meets Akhromeyev

LD0903155489 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—A delegation of the Norwegian Storting's Military Committee arrived in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the first time in the history of Soviet-Norwegian relations. The delegation is led by the Storting's Military Committee Chairman K.M. Fredheim. The guests were received on Thursday at the commissions for foreign affairs of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Positive changes that have taken place in East-West relations over the recent years, a marked easing of international tension, the lessening of the acuteness of some regional conflicts warrant our optimism about the future," Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said, inaugurating the meeting. Expressing satisfaction with the present state of Soviet-Norwegian relations he noted that the implementation of the concept of comprehensive international security one of whose aspects is the ensurance of peace and stabiity in the north of Europe has been and remains the main trend of the USSR's foreign policy activity. Zagladin noted that the concrete ways of the advance to this goal had been set out in detail in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk.

It was emphasized during the conversation that the Soviet Union's and Norway's membership in different military-political alliances and the obligations to their allies following from this fact, cannot and must not be an obstacle to the intensification of the Soviet-Norwegian dialogue for whose widening there is mutual wish and opportunities.

Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhrokmeyev who took part in the conversation said that despite the marked progress in limiting the arms race, in the reduction of armed forces and armaments, the soviet side is concerned over a certain imbalance of armaments, specifically as regards the naval forces of the NATO countries.

Highly appraising the Soviet Union's unilateral meaasures for the reduction of its armed forces and armaments, announced in Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the session of the United Nations General Assembly, the head of the Norwegian delegation expressed satisfaction over the fact that the process of real disarmament started with the INF Treaty comprised also the north of Europe and will be continued for the sake of the consolidation of peace and goodneighbourliness, demilitarisation of relations between countries, of their politisation and humanisation.

Solovyev, Finnish Envoy Discuss Economic Zone

PM0903155389 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Conversation With Finnish Ambassador"]

[Text] Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, received Heikki Talvitie, Finnish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, in Smolnyy.

Greeting the guest, Yu.F. Solovyev expressed sincere gratitude to the people of Finland for the multifaceted aid they offered to Armenia, afflicted by the devastating earthquake.

In the course of a friendly conversation it was pointed out that relations with Finland are still a priority area in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. In the era of the new political thinking the value of the experience accumulated in Soviet-Finnish cooperation is growing immeasurably. There are now great potential resources and capacities for building up cooperation in all spheres. Life dictates other solutions that are more in accordance with the demands of the present day—including production sharing and specialization, joint enterprises, and emergence into third countries' markets. A reliable foundation for future cooperation could be formed on this basis.

Naturally, Yu.F. Solovyev stressed, ideas are needed from both sides. In this respect the creation of a free economic zone on the territory of Leningrad Oblast adjoining the Soviet-Finnish border may prove extremely interesting. Preliminary consultations have already been held on this problem. Leningraders are now engaged in preparing proposals regarding a site for its possible location, and scientific establishments and enterprises which could interact within the framework of cooperation with the zone's enterprises are being determined.

It was pointed out that it is also important in the overall context of bilateral relations to examine questions of further developing border trade on the lines of the "Lenintorg" All-Union Association and other problems of trade and economic coperation between Leningrad, Leningrad Oblast, and Finland. A desire was expressed to develop new forms of ties—industrial cooperation and barter deals. The Soviet side proposed that the representatives of Finnish business circles make a more extensive study of the possibilities in the border trade of various regions of the USSR's northwest and the Leningrad economy's potential for creating joint enterprises.

The ambassador thanked him for a substantive conversation and stressed that the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and principles of trust and good-neighborliness between the two countries' peoples are still the basis of Finnish-Soviet relations. Heikki Talvitie stated his desire to do his utmost to promote the further development of these relations in the interests of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The following were present during the conversation: V.A. Lopatnikov, representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Leningrad; G.I. Tkachev, chief of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Foreign Relations Department; and Jaakko Kaurinkoski, Finnish consul general in Leningrad.

The ambassador looked around the V.I. Lenin memorial museum in Smolnyy.

French Press Treatment of Cocom Case Viewed

PM0903120389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko followed by commentary by V.I. Marinin, general director of the all-union "Stankoimport" foreign trade association: "Who Stands To Gain or Third Side in Bilateral Deal"]

[Text] Paris—Just 10 days after the case of the "Ariane" missile was finally closed "in the absence of the corpus delicti" and on the eve of the latest session of the Franco-Soviet "grand commission," the Paris press has decided to revive another "spy story."

On 10 February 1989 the newspaper LIBERATION reported "new facts" connected with the case of the "Machines Francaises Lourdes" (MFL) firm and its subsidiary Forestline launched by the French special services. This story began in April last year, when four leaders of MFL were accused of "plotting with a foreign power" (read—with the USSR).

At its sources is the once sensational case of the Japanese firm of Toshiba, which the Pentagon accused in 1987 of making deliveries of strategic equipment to the Soviet Union. In an attempt somehow to expiate its guilt, the Paris press asserted at the time, Toshiba betrayed its rivals—the MFL firm—to the Americans, claiming that MFL was also engaging, in contravention of Cocom restrictions, in the illegal export of sophisticated technology—deliveries of milling machines with program control to our country. The Americans immediately imparted the information they had obtained to the French counterintelligence—the Directorate for Territorial Oversight (DST)—and to the press. They wanted "to dramatize this event," the newspaper LES ECHOS wrote a year ago.

Despite the fact that the accusations were denied by the French Ministry of Industry, this did not prevent the police from arresting and imprisoning the entire MFL and Forestline leadership, who stayed behind bars for 3 and ½ months.

The sudden arrests caused dismay among French industrialists. Never before had any of them been the target of such tough measures. Rene-Louis Rondo, adviser for international affairs in the office of the minister of industry, stressed that "all contracts which may have been signed with the USSR between 1976 and 1983 were implemented in accordance with existing rules." F. Muller, chief of the French foreign trade center export operations department, indicated that the export of sophisticated equipment to the East European countries "is not undertaken without multiple authorizations from state organizations." The French embassies in the client countries, he said, have been informed, as have the banks issuing export credits. "Nothing can be done by underground means." Thus, LE MONDE wrote, French officials noted that it was a case of libel.

What charge is the French counterintelligence leveling against the MFL leadership? According to newspaper reports, MFL and Forestline have managed to sell the Soviet Union, "in contravention of Cocom rules," two milling machines. It has been noted that it is these machine tools which can produce large-scale components on several different planes simultaneously and produce noiseless propellers for submarines and wings for transport aircraft of the "Ruslan" type.

At the time the newspaper ballyhoo around the noiseless propellers and the wings of transport aircraft rapidly came to nothing, until 10 February this year, when LIBERATION, which played a marked role in hiking the "Ariane" missile affair, produced new "sensational revelations." The newspaper reported that in addition to the four MFL leaders investigator B. Laroche had brought similar charges against Michel Leger, one of the chief advisers on the export of French technology to East European countries and a member of the relevant commissions of the ministries of industry and foreign affairs. It turns out that to obtain an export license an official signature from this particular expert was required, and he provided it.

In conclusion LIBERATION produced one more "sensation," this time relating to Michel Lopoukhine, MFL's marketing director arrested by the French counterintelligence. "His origins, his personality, his relations, his permanent contacts with the Soviet Union and the East European countries," the newspaper wrote, "make him a character out of a novel." He has been called a "KGB agent." But upon investigation, it turned out that M. Lopoukhine is an old, very old, acquaintance of the DST. He "regularly reported on his activity to the French counterintelligence."

The investigation is continuing, and it must shed light on the extraordinarily murky case and answer a number of questions. In particular: Has this detective story not been compiled in the depths of the DST? [Kovalenko report ends]

From the editorial office: We asked Vladimir Ivanovich Marinin, general director of the all-union "Stankoimport" foreign trade association, to comment on this report from IZVESTIYA's Paris correspondent:

On 29 October 1986 an agreement was signed between the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry, and the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry on the one hand and the French Forestline firm on the other in the field of joint developments and the creation and production, on the basis of scientific and technical sharing, of several 10-spindle machine tools for producing large-scale aluminum alloy billets for the production of components for the "Ruslan" aircraft at the Ulyanovsk aviation industry complex. A contract was subsequently signed. The total cost of the contract was Fr400 million. Neither the Soviet nor the French side made any particular secret of their agreements and contracts. But in early 1988, according to Western press reports, the French counterintelligence, DST, stated that it had "discovered serious violations of Cocom rules." Four leaders of Forestline from MFL were thrown in prison. The firm incurred losses of Fr50 million and declared itself bankrupt.

That is the sequence of the events which have acquired such a provocative coloring. Why? Because a third side—the U.S. and French special services—was involved in a bilateral commercial deal.

It was LIBERATION again which revealed the springs of the plot of these special services against MFL. Everything began with the former representative of that corporation in Moscow, Jean-Paul Karcz, being dismissed by the firm's leadership for an immoral lifestyle, for dishonest actions with regard to his compatriots, and petty speculation.

In February 1988 Karcz left Moscow and went literally immediately to the U.S. Embassy in Paris. Karcz knew well what to do and how to make up the material and moral damage he had suffered. He worked in the United States for 7 years for the Poyklayn [name as published] firm which produces similar machine tools for expert. Should we be surprised that Mr Karcz was a "find" for the U.S. "diplomats" in Paris. In any event the U.S. Embassy in France immediately liaised "through its own channels" with the DST and events subsequently took the turn with which we are already familiar. In this action we can clearly see the hand of the special services, which are seeking the slightest pretext to use Cocom as an economic tool of the United States against its European and Japanese allies in order to prevent the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between East and West.

Soviet-FRG Cooperation Group Meets in Bonn

LD1003101489 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Bonn March 10 TASS—The Soviet-FRG cooperation on humanitarian questions working group, which was set up in January 1988, held its 3rd meeting in Bonn on March 6-9.

The sides held confidential and friendly talks in the spirit of the final document of the Vienna meeting of CSCE member-states. The talks were characterised by a mutual desire to achieve positive results from the forthcoming visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG. They discussed such important humanitarian questions as reuniting families, the legal status of Soviet citizens permanently living in the FRG, freedom of movement and an increase in the number of temporary trips by Soviet citizens to the FRG.

The West German delegation expressed gratitude to the Soviet side for their cooperation.

The working group helped reveal the fates of Soviet citizens who had gone missing on the territory of the present-day Federal Republic of Germany. The West German People's Union for the Care of War Burial Places will soon hand over lists of 280,000 missing Soviet citizens to the Soviet Red Cross. The Soviet side also declared its readiness to give appropriate information to the FRG's Red Cross.

The Soviet delegation reported that new cemeteries would be opened for visits.

A decision was taken to continue cooperation in tracking down Nazi war criminals.

The delegations also discussed other humanitarian questions of mutual interest.

In compliance with the desire of the West German delegation, the Soviet side reported on the present situation of Soviet citizens of German descent.

A decision was taken to hold another meeting in Moscow this autumn and continue the discussions.

Political & Social

Parliamentary Candidates Can Campaign Full-Time

LD0903181289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] In connection with the inquiries submitted regarding possible release of authorized persons who are candidates for people's deputies of the USSR from the performance of production or official commitments for the time that the election campaign is being conducted, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has explained that, in accordance with the legislation of the union republics regarding guarantees to blue and white collar workers during the period of implementing official commitments connected with the elections, with the electoral right, authorized persons can, at the request of people's deputies, be released from the fulfillment of production or official commitments while retaining their average wage at their place of work. The expenses incurred in this connection by the enterprise, institution, or organization will be compensated, at their request, at the expense of the funds allocated for the holding of the elections. This was information from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

UK TV Interviews OGONEK's Korotich on Elections

PM0103094489 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Interview with OGONEK Editor Vitaliy Korotich by news presenter Peter Snow, incorporating comments by Dr Alex Pravda, Royal Institute of International Affairs; monitored in progress in London on 27 February, following a report on the selection process in the upcoming elections in the Soviet Union—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] The selection process has raised questions, too. Vitaliy Korotich, whose editorial conferences at OGONEK magazine are constantly exploring new ways to exploit the press' newfound openness, is seen as the leading exponent of Mr Gorbachev's drive for change, and he's under open attack from the conservatives. A natural choice of candidate, you'd have thought, for a seat in Moscow. But last week, he walked out of his selection meeting in disgust, claiming that radicals like himself were being filtered out.

[Pravda] Vitaliy Korotich has become the symbol—in some ways, the cutting edge—of glasnost in the Soviet Union. He's the editor of the most popular weekly, OGONEK, which has a circulation of over 3 million and which prints the most radical stories, both about history and about current developments in the Soviet Union. And for that reason he's become the target of conservative attack, particularly recently: Last month, there was a letter which criticized him, singling him out as an example of excessive criticism of all the Soviet past and the achievements of socialism, and Gorbachev has had to come to his defense on several occasions.

[Snow] Vitaliy Korotich, welcome to London. Why did you walk out of that election meeting?

[Korotich] You see, practically no [word indistinct] of our life is problem is the same [sentence as heard]. It's bureaucracy which want to keep everything in state it was, and people who want changes. People name their candidates. There may be in the region 300,000 people population where I'm living and working—it was seven candidates—and I think it's necessary to put them all on the list and vote. But regional government, as is possible now, built their own filter, and 700 people specially selected must vote whom to leave on this list. And I don't want to be in this play, and me and one of our popular actors, Nikulin [name as heard], we went out from this elector's meeting because we want to be elected by those who name us as their candidates. But this system of elections is better—as is possible to compare—is many times better than what we had before.

[Snow] So what.... Do you think you're going to end up.... However you may question the way the selection process goes on, do you think if.... You may still be a candidate, may you not? You may still accept a nomination elsewhere.

[Korotich] Four, in four, in four places of the Soviet Union I was named.

[Snow] Right.

[Korotich] Yes.

[Snow] So there is still a possibility you may go somewhere else. Now, if you do become a member of this parliament, what sort of real power will it have? What sort of a real democracy will the Soviet Union have?

[Korotich] Impossible to say because our old parliament, which was its main organization in my country because officially it can vote everything; but when our great workers, constructors, are voting for military budget, it worked not for them. We need something more professional in parliament. And Gorbachev needs stronger support from parliament than he has it now.

[Snow] Now Gorbachev has his problems in fighting the, the, the traditionalists and the conservatives in the bureaucracy. What about your own? What sort of pressure are you under, day to day, in running your, your magazine that carries, as it were, the torch of liberalism in the Soviet Union.

[Korotich] You see, for people from the government, it's better to recognize then its mass media provoke our great people then they rule in the bad way [sentence as heard]. Of course it's better to recognize that mass media—television, newspapers, magazines—are provoking people, calling them, some were not in the right way. And they are ruling in the best way because this fight between administration—which Gorbachev want to cut—and

between people who want immediate changes is very strong, and I think now parliament must help Gorbachev in those changes. But it's only the beginning. Maybe you are tired from your democracy: We only start to understand what it means to live in democratic society. And of course it's not so easy for us.

[Snow] Supposing—what we were talking earlier about perestroyka and how it's really failing, as yet, to show real results—supposing it doesn't work in the short-medium term. What happens, what happens if Gorbachev then is removed from power because he's seen to have failed. What of the alternative to Gorbachev?

[Korotich] Gorbachev is an alternative, it's sure. But I want to say, the man who want to replace him, because he'll have all the same problems: hungry, unfeeded country; country with angry people without good flats; without good conditions for health. I think now Gorbachev is an alternative. It's necessary only to help him because democratic changes in our country. It's part of world changes and theirs: Because now if Gorbachev or somebody stop him, it will be catastrophe, because it will be catastrophe for our country which will be Third World country in few years and catastrophe for all around us because it will be angry, terrible country—Stalin's type—in the middle of Europe.

[Snow] But very briefly, is there anything the West can do to help avoid the catastrophe you talk about?

[Korotich] You must look at us. You must keep us in your point of view and discuss our problems in the same open way as you do it now.

[Snow] But do you look to the West for concessions in arms control, and then somebody could help Gorbachev? Do you see what I mean? Do you think the West can do anything to help him?

[Korotich] Uh, West must help him, but it's impossible to disarm only in the Soviet Union or only in the West. We must believe one another more, and we must go from hatred connect us to normal mutual understanding.

[Snow] Vitaliy Korotich, thank you very much for joining us.

[Korotich] Thank you.

RSFSR Campaign Irregularities Discussed

PM0103105189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Yuriy Nikolayev under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Voters and Candidates"]

[Text] The registration of USSR candidate people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs is over, and the election campaign is now, as it were, in the home stretch. We will still have to return to each of its stages many times if we are to understand what has happened and draw lessons for the future. There is more than enough food for thought there. Never before in the memory of our generation has there been such strenuous and keen competition for deputies' seats. The dramatic nature of the situation has been heightened by the clash between new approaches to the elections and old habits and ideas. The stereotypes built up over decades have by no means been overcome everywhere, nor absolute observance of democratic principles ensured.

At the end of January the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the progress of election preparations in Orel Oblast. It noted with concern that the democratic mechanism enshrined in the new legislation was not being fully utilized there. Only 1 candidacy was discussed in 14 labor collectives in Livenskiy No 251 Territorial Electoral Okrug. Only two meetings to nominate candidate deputies were held in Orlovskiy No 249 Electoral Okrug. The picture for the oblast as a whole was far from cheerful. In all under 1 percent of the electorate took part in meetings in the three electoral okrugs. No meetings to nominate candidate deputies and representatives to okrug electoral commissions were held at neighborhood level.

Was this the only oblast where people operated according to well-rehearsed scenarios?! Sessions of the Central Electoral Commission several times expressed their concern at soviet ispolkoms' great timidity regarding the holding of neighborhood meetings. The lack of initiative on the part of okrug commissions, which still maintained the habit of waiting for instructions from the center on virtually every occasion, was disquieting. Breaches of democratic ethics, if not direct deviations from the law, were perpetrated at candidate nomination meetings in territorial okrugs and at plenums of public organizations, which naturally incensed people.

Unfortunately, serious shortcomings in the conduct of okrug election meetings were not avoided either. A recent session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (reported in the newspaper) analyzed the work of Moscow Oblast soviets in the final stage of preparation for the election of USSR people's deputies. It was acknowledged that open, honest discussion took place at the bulk of okrug meetings and energetic competition among contenders was ensured. But what was particularly alarming, according to Moscow Oblispolkom Chairman I.M. Cherepanov, was that at some meetings excessive emotions sometimes overshadowed the arguments of reason and logic and that there were a good many manifestations of extremism and maximalism. Overzealous "action groups," which tried to impose at all cost their own line dictated by ambitious, selfish aspirations, hampered committed, constructive discussion of candidates and their election platforms.

There were 463 okrug election meetings held in the RSFSR. Some 30-50 or more delagates spoke at each. The meetings lasted 8-12 hours, and some needed a

second day. There is nothing surprising here. Once people got up onto the prestigious rostrum they wanted to use the opportunity for a thorough exchange of opinions. But the thing that the editorial mail draws most attention to is the fact that virtually everywhere a lot of time was unjustifiably taken up by "procedural battles." They were normally imposed by those same "pressure groups" bent on unsettling the discussion and sneaking their candidates through to the next round, particularly when they did not have much of a chance of winning.

At many meetings candidates, in presenting their programs, played up to the delegates; their speeches were quite often demagogic in character and some of them gave promises and assurances which they knew could not be met. What is the point, for example, of the statement made by serviceman T.T. Vatanskiy, nominated for Akhtubinskiy No 124 Territorial Electoral Okrug? His program is based on an immediate reduction in the size of the Armed Forces, a large increase in kolkhoz members' pensions, the closure of all enterprises in Astrakhan Oblast that have a detrimental impact on the environment.... But people know that it is not a bad thing to back up even the best intentions with concrete actions or at least serious analysis of approaches to their implementation. This candidate displayed neither.

Many writers to the editorial office point up the following in their letters. Some candidates included whole paragraphs from the well-known CPSU Central Committee Appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People" in their programs. There is no doubt that this did lend solidity and cogency to the candidates' statements. The only pity is that the principled party guidelines were used without any reference to their primary source, being passed off as the candidates' own. Or take the following: Some programs contain demands at variance with the USSR Constitution. Unfortunately, the electoral commissions present at the meetings, and party and soviet workers sometimes made no attempt to make things absolutely clear in such situations or provide well-argued counters to unlawful claims, political opportunism, or glib statements aimed at winning cheap popularity.

Another extreme whereby narrow departmental or local interests were put to the fore was also revealed. Participants in a meeting in Irkutskiy No 170 Okrug, our correspondent N. Fokina reports, sought to delegate a particular kind of fixer to the upcoming congress. Whenever a candidate aspired in his program to the level of statewide politics, he was immediately attacked. Someone like that, it was said, "will not help us build houses or cowsheds."

Around 2,000 deputy candidacies were eliminated during discussions in the RSFSR alone, including more than 300 withdrawals by the candidates themselves. This did not, of course, happen without a sense of personal affront felt by both the actual candidates and their supporters. Hitches in the organization of election meetings, including okrug meetings, and the evasive behavior of electoral commissions and representatives of soviet organs provided abundant grounds for gossip. Our editorial office was visited by a group of participants in a Moskovskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug election meeting held in Zagorsk. They were mostly disgruntled by the fact that the elctoral commission, despite their insistent requests, utterly failed to give a direct answer regarding the social composition of the auditorium. You got the impression that the fate of the mandates there was decided by representatives of the "nomenklatura." Incidentally, a certain secrecy surrounding the formation of the composition of okrug election meetings left a sense of dissatisfaction among people in many other places too.

The right to nominate candidate deputies has now been granted to labor collectives themselves and to neighborhood meetings. The various allocation systems, whereby who was to be "elected" and where was dictated from above, are now a thing of the past. But that does not mean that the social composition of the supreme organ of power is a matter of indifference to us. Moreover, it can scarcely be considered a success when whole regions (Amur, Kaluga, Orel, and Saratov Oblasts) have not registered a single nonparty candidate. The proportion of nonparty people among the body of candidates in Bryansk, Kemerovo, Magadan, Orenburg, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts and Khabarovsk Kray is extremely small.

Last Sunday MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA published a list of registered candidates for national-territorial and territorial okrugs. It includes the names of over 80 people, only 8 of whom are workers, with 5 women. On the other hand, more than 50 of the candidates are described as "director," "general director," "chief"....

There are no complete data as yet on the social profile of the body of candidates for the country as a whole or the RSFSR, but the reports we have on hand indicate an "economic" bias, an increase in the representation of the intelligentsia and a clear weakening of the position of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, young people, and women. These trends still have to be assessed.

People themselves are, of course, entitled to determine to whom to entrust the defense of the people's interests. Just aims must never be sought by illegitimate means. Such attempts are made, however. At the aforementioned Irkutskiy Okrug meeting the electoral commission for some reason or other deemed it necessary to inform the whole world that one of the candidates had married for the second time. It is not surprising that after such a "briefing," discussion of that candidate's interesting program was ruined, and insults even began to be passed. There is worrying news from Ryazan, where the unwelcome candidacies of a writer and a military college lecturer were crudely "axed."

The aforementioned in no way means that a party committee or local soviet should be satisfied with the role of detached observer. Not at all! On the contrary,

they should defend their standpoint, but only by means of persuasion. Defamation of character and recourse to dubious methods of downright pressure and red tape are unacceptable.

The contest for deputies' seats has entered its closing stage. It is now extremely important that it be conducted in a decent and proper fashion, in strict observance of the principle of equal opportunity for candidates. Truisms need to be recalled because they were clearly not universally appreciated during the preceding stages. As is well known, the financing of the entire election campaign has been assumed by the state. Wherever this rule has been adhered to there has been no hullabaloo surrounding individual candidates or undesirable excesses. For example, every participant in the meeting of Angarskiy No 172 Electoral Okrug received printed candidates' programs and was able to analyze them carefully. But did many okrug electoral commissions display such concern? No, there were only a few such cases. Some candidates started going all out to advertize themselves in print even before registration. "Support groups" also displayed undue zeal here. Readers are now quite reasonably asking who provided the financing and the material resources and where and on the basis of whose decisions was this premature publishing activity launched? Who will answer for the attempts to embroil candidates and their supporters in this "pocketbook" competition?

It is already clear that this competition mainly hit those contenders who are workers, kolkhoz members, or rank-and-file intelligentsia. It would certainly be logical to stymie such competition in the final stage of the elections.

All of us voters still have the time and a real opportunity to examine our candidates closely and to weigh and consider their programs in order to make the right choice in a considered way, conscious of our personal responsibility therein.

Ryzhkov Arrives in Western Siberia 9 Mar
LD0903184689 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov arrived in the Kemerovo region on Thursday. He will get acquainted with west Siberia's major industrial region and meet working people.

Baklanov Continues Tour of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure
OW0903133189 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 9 Mar 89

[For related reports see the 8 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 54-56]

[Text] We have already informed you that Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is visiting our kray. Yesterday Comrade Baklanov arrived in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. He visited workshops and sections of a shipbuilding yard, expressed interest in the state of equipment and technology, and examined the fishing vessels under construction.

During talks with leaders and specialists of the enterprise, various aspects of the collective's work were touched upon. The collective changed over to new conditions of management as of 1 January. Special attention was devoted to social issues.

Work conditions and leisure time of the shipbuilders is a matter of concern for the enterprise. Rooms for rest and recreation are well equipped. In one of the workshops, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and his entourage saw a [word indistinct], a sauna, and a swimming pool.

Comrade Baklanov also visited Little Ship—the plant's kindergarten—which is equipped with a music and sport hall, a game room, and a swimming pool. In a word, excellent conditions for the harmonious development of children have been created. In all fairness, it should be said that the problem of ensuring adequate kindergarten and child care center facilities has not as yet been completely solved. The plant is fully aware of this and has a definite plan: Two more kindergartens are going to be built.

On the other hand, a definite plan to solve living problems is, unfortunately, not being undertaken by the plant, even though the situation is of great concern. Some 1,200 people are waiting for apartments.

Speaking to the party economic aktiv of the plant, Baklanov identified the expansion of living space as the primary task. The stability of work of the collective and its development depend on this. The fastest and most reliable way in solving the living space problem is development, by every means possible, of the economic method.

Comrade Baklanov expressed serious concern about the state of affairs in the production of consumer goods. For every ruble of the wage fund, the shipbuilders are producing only 12 kopeks worth of such goods.

Speaking of such an acute problem as ensuring the people with foodstuffs, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed that presently enterprises of various branches of industry, irrespective of under whose jurisdiction they are, have been instructed to manufacture equipment for processing agricultural produce. Why is this so? Because up to 30 percent of the raw material received is not processed and stored in time.

A businesslike exchange of opinion on many problems of economic and social policy took place. Comrade Baklanov, as well as Paternak, first secretary of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Committee, who also spoke at the meeting, and (?Stefanov), USSR Minister of the Shipbuilding Industry, answered questions asked by the shipbuilders.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also paid a visit to the city hospital and vegetable and food stores, showing an interest in the assortment of goods and speaking with customers about the availability of foodstuffs in the city. During a visit to the Start tourist ski center, many questions were raised in his talks with guests. It was noted that the city executive committee should show greater care for the people, study their needs, and respond more quickly to proposals and remarks on questions of servicing the public, improving service conditions, and leisure.

Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov arrived in Birobidzhan this morning. Here he visited workshops of the Birobidzhan knitwear factory and the Far Eastern Agricultural Machinery Plant (Dalselmash), acquainted himself with their production, and spoke with workers, engineering and technical personnel, and leaders of the enterprises.

The main attention during the talks was devoted to the question of providing the workers of Birobidzhan with living space and consumer goods, the introduction of progressive forms of work organization—and payment for it—and the prospects for the development of labor collectives.

Comrade Baklanov also visited the oblast's philharmonic orchestra, and met with representatives of Birobidzhan's creative intelligentsia. At the obkom party committee, Baklanov met with the party economic aktiv of the oblast. Pasternak, first secretary of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Committee; Danilyuk, chairman of the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet Executive Committee; and responsible workers of a number of ministries and departments participated in the meeting. A wide range of problems were examined and answers were given to questions from participants of the aktiv.

Baklanov's Far East Visit Continues

LD1003051689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newcast]

[Text] Comrade Baklanov's stay in Khabarovsk Kray continues.

[S. Slipchenko] The following fact describes the size of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure: There are only four sets of traffic lights in the town. And from this volcano are visible the giant Amur, the port, the ship-building works, and a fairy-tale countryside on the other side of the river. On 8 March, on the festive day, almost all the town gathered here. And people asked Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov the very same questions—whether it was in the big industrial centers or at the very mouth of the Amur. [video shows people skiing near the Amur; a group of people, some carrying skis, are shown talking to Baklanov]

[Begin recording] [Woman] Will the food supply be improved, or not?

[Baklanov] Of course it will be improved. Indeed, measures are now being adopted, and, you know, a special plenum is now being prepared. And from virtually all directions opinions are being solicited, to be passed on to agriculture. We think that this will yield a big increase.

[Woman] In 5 years' time; not earlier?

[Baklanov] No, I think it will happen earlier. I think it will be earlier. [end recording]

[Slipchenko] The bus carrying the guests from Moscow stopped today at a kindergarten, at shops, and made a long stop at the hospital. [video shows a bus accompanied by several official cars driving along a snow-covered road] Apart from this pleasant instant, a serious conversation took place here about the overhaul of the hospital and about the shortage of certain equipment. [video shows Baklanov handing a bouquet of flowers to a woman] People are asking increasingly poignant questions on the eve of the elections, and are demanding specific answers. [video shows several patients in hospital beds] The Central Committee secretary did look into the sensitive spots during his trip. For example, the social development program of the town of Amursk was discussed in the kraykom, and instructions were given to the ministers and to specialists of the State Planning Committee. The main thing is that the time schedule for the fulfilment of the tasks was outlined. It is possible to say that Nikolayevsk is directly concerned with the food program; after all, the seiners and trawlers built at the ship-building works of the town supply the country with fish. These vessels which are (?placed) at the quay can be called a symbol of the town. [video shows several vessels in dry dock; a group of officials walking past them]

Birobidzhan, the center of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, is also the center of the light industry of Khabarovsk Kray. The hosiery and knitwear factory supplies the whole region with its output. It could supply it abroad, too. After all, representatives of foreign firms [firmachi] came in and praised it—but the pitfall here was the packaging and product labelling. It is not at all possible to obtain good quality cardboard and bright paints, so as to present the products in the best way. Nowadays, this represents a loss of foreign currency.

Dalselmash is the most famous enterprise of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. The discussion here concerns the fact that the equipment for rural areas must be of better quality, must be reliable, and must provide for new potential. For the time being, however, there is a lot of manual labor at the works. . [video shows Baklanov and entourage examining farming machinery]

Birobidzhin is famous for its Philharmonic. The original building is finished in Ural marble; the curtain in the main auditorium is an original work of a female artist from the Baltic republic; the walls are from local marble, with which the walls of the Moscow underground are also decorated; and the unique acoustics are provided by

the panelling made from Far Eastern ashwood. The meeting between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the representatives of the intelligentsia of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast took place in the Philharmonic building. These were artists, musicians, and the editor of the newspaper published in Yiddish. During this discussion, it became known that the first higher educational establishment—a pedagogical institute where both the national Jewish literature and the Yiddish language will be taught—will be open in Birobidzhan in the fall. An Intourist Department and a correspondent center of the NOVOSTI press agency will be open in the town. This is evidence of the growing interest abroad in the affairs of the autonomous oblast. The opening of scientific and research institutes in the Far Eastern Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences is also envisaged. The meeting between Comrade Baklanov and the people of the Far East continues. [video shows Baklanov and entourage touring the Philharmonic building; Baklanov greeted by a number of people; Baklanov talking to representatives of intelligentsia]

Chebrikov Asks Moldavians To 'Think Big'

PM0302090189 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[ATEM correspondents O. Grabovskiy, Ye. Tishchenko, L. Khalash, and D. Chubashenko report: "Meetings With Moldavian Working People"]

[Excerpts] V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is currently in our republic, began his acquaintance with the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences in the afternoon of 8 February with a visit to the "Biotron" All-Union Scientific Center. A.A. Zhuchenko, president of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, briefed him on the work of this automated system for the collection and processing of biological information, which has no parallel in the world. [passage omitted]

A meeting was held between V.M. Chebrikov and leaders of the Academy of Sciences and its departments and institutes. [passage omitted]

I have not analyzed the work of your academy specifically, V.M. Chebrikov said addressing the scientists, but I would like to make a number of points. First, you should continue to pay constant attention to cadres. The cadre problem exists in all the scientific establishments. The academy must boldly discard ballast. If a person is merely putting in a presence at his work place, it is necessary to suggest a job to him where he can prove himself better. It is true, as has been mentioned here, that there is no need for gigantomania or overstaffing. Experience has shown that the practice of establishing even relatively small creative collectives to resolve specific problems is fully vindicated. We must employ work forms which enable the most talented scientists to come to the fore.

Further, we have embarked on a course toward democratization, yet in science—and this is observed throughout the country—this has still to be fully manifested. If someone is a leading authority in a certain field, acolytes gather around him, ready to "go for" anyone who puts forward an idea that differs from the one they support. If there is a rivalry of ideas in your institute, department, or laboratory, then you will progress. If there is complete "unanimity," it will crush you. You must not be afraid of different viewpoints. Listen to them, discuss them, organize a scientific debate. After all, science is the most suitable ground for disputes, for proving who is right.

It is true that the material, technical, and instrument base is in need of urgent development. In the past we were able to buy large quantities of equipment abroad. Today we no longer have this opportunity, so considerable efforts are being made to increase the production of Soviet-made instruments and equipment.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary then dwelt on a number of topical ideological problems.

We believe, he said, that we must not try to sidestep these problems. We have to provide scientific, objective, and comprehensive explanations to all questions which are causing people concern. You have the cadres and a base, and this must be done on the basis of scientific elaboration. Sometimes excessive emotionalism is displayed when certain problems crop up, and this is not confined to your republic. There are cases where individual people make capital on questions which arise in the sphere of interethnic relations. Pursuing their egoistic, careerist aims, they try to impose on others a viewpoint which lacks all scientific or political foundation. Finally, there are demagogues, pure and simple, who believe that the louder they shout, the righter they are.

The main point is that no one intends to encroach on any nation, ethnic minority, or republic. As one who has taken part in the Politburo sessions at which questions of interethnic relations have been discussed, I can say with utmost responsibility that the leadership's attitude to problems which perturb the inhabitants of all union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts is very attentive.

It is necessary to pay great attention to these questions, treat them with great sensitivity, and approach them with much consideration. In our country there are nationalities which number 800, 1,000, or 1,500 people and there are others which number more than 100 million. Any nationality has a right to its own language. No one is dreaming of encroaching on it, of assimilating it. No one has any such intention. There have been individual erroneous decisions, there are certain flaws in this sphere even now. However, in general the party line consists in comprehensively developing all nations and nationalities, treating their history, culture, language, monuments, customs, traditions, and language with care.

It is no accident that a CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of interethnic relations is in preparation. These questions must be resolved on a sound basis, taking account of local and national conditions, but at the same time we must not forget the international character of our state. Otherwise people may become isolated within their national confines.

It is necessary to think about the future, about our young people. Under conditions of national isolation, our young people, scientists and specialists, will have much narrower prospects. If they do not know Russian as well as their native Moldavian they can hardly expect to become academicians. Let all of you remember how you overcame the language barrier. If you had not been aware of all the achievements of science in the field where you are working, which of you would have become an academician or a professor? And if you spoke only Moldavian, how would you have been able to acquire all this? After all, we teach people foreign languages so that they have access to all the values which exist in the world.

I repeat, it is essential to think about the republic's future. Narrow confines can destroy the cause. Specialists will stew in their own juice and will be unable to break out beyond the confines of the republic. That would not be right, it would only do harm. There must be Moldavian academicians with a unionwide, a worldwide reputation. And how is a Moldavian to become a general if he does not speak Russian? After all, you have to graduate from a military college or a military academy. Nor can you train major national economic spcialists if you confine yourself to a narrow framework. It is necessary to think big and to rebut those who would like to isolate themselves, to stand aloof.

At tne same time, it is equally wrong to sidestep questions connected with the teaching and development of the Moldavian language. Why should a people lose their spoken or written language, why should their literature suffer? Who stands to gain from this? No one.

Only an internationalist, party, and political approach can guide us onto the correct path. Another approach, a limited or even overtly nationalistic approach, would deprive us of our opportunities for development. Therefore it is essential that no mistakes are made here, so that we do not have to spend years afterward putting them right.

I believe that the Academy of Sciences has a great role to play here. Especially the social scientists, but not only they. The stance of mathematicians, physicists, biologists, and seismologists is also important. People listen to your opinion. You must make use of the mass media, speak to various audiences, address young people, and provide well-argued explanations to the problems which concern people rather than try to sidestep these problems.

In conclusion V.M. Chebrikov wished the scientists of the Academy of Sciences success in their scientific and social activities. [passage omitted]

Shcherbitskiy Commemorates Poet at Kiev Fete

LD0903163489 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 9 TASS—"Sincere and unfading love of Taras Shevchenko, the great son of the Ukrainian people, one of mankind's most glorious poets and the harbinger of the 'Free and New Family,' brought us to this hall today," Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said opening a social function to commemorate the great popular poet.

Representatives of work collectives, the public, artistic intelligentsia, guests from union republics, and also from Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, China, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Canada, the United States and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) attended the function to mark the 175th birth anniversary of Taras Shevchenko.

"Shevchenko's poetry is relevant as ever and especially when revolutionary perestroyka was launced in the country. It teaches people reason and wisdom, the leasons of history and culture. The two notions 'action' and 'work' can be regarded and, justly so, as the all-important ones in the poet's life and creativity. The poet's words from his 'Diary': 'Belief without action is dead' sound as a warning," Shcherbitskiy said.

Shevchenko's lesson of internationalism is of inestimable importance now that the processes to refine interethnic relations take place in our country, the speaker noted. The poet waged an uncompromising political and intellectual struggle against all manifestations of social and national oppression. The theme of his creativity was internationalist, open to the whole world with all of its pains, word and hopes.

Chernobyl Briefing Reveals Information Shortage

LD0803142189 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] During his recent trip to Ukraine, Mikhail Gorbachev visited the Chernobyl plant and emphasized once again that people's health remains to be of top priority. Well, this was the major subject of a press conference attended by our reporter, Galina Kozlyuk.

[Kozlyuk] Almost 3 years after the Chernobyl accident the republic's Ministry of Health decided to hold a press conference at the press center, whose first session dealt

with the medical aspect of Chernobyl. Opening the press conference, Deputy Minister Yuriy Stezhenko stated that his colleagues moved a long way on the road of glasnost.

One should admit these words are correct. For the first time in the 3 years of verbal tranquilization the Ministry of Health has admitted that intentional withholding of information and excessive secrecy have damaged people's trust in those who should protect their health. For the first time, for example, it was admitted that the sickness level among children jumped in 1986 and that there was a growth in abortion that year—the things denied in the past. It was also stressed at the press conference that increased contamination of soil by Cesium-137 can be traced in four oblasts of the Ukraine—Kiev, Khitomir, Rovno, and Chernigov.

In the opinion of doctors who took part in the press conference, they registered no growth in the oncological or other diseases which can be induced by higher radiation level. This was stated by Vladimir Babeshko, director of the clinical radiology of the all-union center of radiation medicine. He said: What has been of interest to us regarding the Chernobyl tragedy? First of all, hemotological and endocrinological deviations. Well, I must tell you that studying these sickness levels in Kiev over these years we did not find any deviations in the sickness level of the city's children in such diseases as leukaemia and other diseases, said Vladimir Babeshko.

It was mentioned at the press conference that control over food-stuffs, particularly milk, should not be slackened and that the issues of nutrition hygiene are coming to the fore. In order to better inform the population, the map of radiation contamination of Kiev will be published. A similar map of Ukraine has already been published in the press.

Well, it is good that Ukraine's Health Ministry is making steps toward glasnost. It is a pity though, that, it took 3 long years of information famine to make these steps.

Ukrainian Miners Refuse To Sign Work Agreement

LD2402163689 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev February 24 TASS—TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Kovalenko:

Miners of the "sixty years of the USSR" Ukrainian mine in the Donbass basin have refused to sign a collective agreement for this year which had been prepared by the administration and offered their own variant instead.

According to metal craftsman anatoliy Zubenko's proposal the draft agreement was discussed in every brigade and it was decided to make several points more specific. The draft agreement had been worked out for three weeks and after that it was discussed by the miners. The miners demanded an improvement of working conditions (including the improvement of dust defences near coal-faces), the enlargement of sport and health facilities, the reduction of the number of administrative staff and gave the final date to the opening of a new 50-apartment house.

Leader of the mining brigade Viktor Kovalchuk thinks that the money earned by the miners shouldn't be used to support unprofitable mines for the ministry to have a good record. "We shall not accept the situation any longer—everyone should live according to the results of his work," said Kovalchuk.

An agreement between administration and collective is signed at Soviet enterprises every year and the procedure used to be purely formal in this mine. The administration didn't try to understand miners' needs and used formal expressions: "to increase," "to speed up." The workers lost their belief in the effectiveness of the agreement and were unenthusiastic for it. The administration hoped that the agreement would succeed again. But they made a mistake because they ignored the changes which are taking place in society and the increased activity of working people.

Draft Program of Ukraine People's Movement

LD0103151189 Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 16 Feb 89 p 3

[The draft Program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring]

[Text]

General Principles

1. The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring [PMU] is a mass voluntary organization that rests on the patriotic initiative of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR: Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Moldavians, and all other nationalities living on Ukrainian soil. The movement is a nationwide manifestation of the approval of and support for the revolutionary restructuring initiated and implemented in our country by the party. This is a new form of the block of party members and nonparty people and of the struggle for a fundamental renewal in all spheres of state, public, and economic life of the Ukrainian SSR.

The movement acts for the sake of humanism, peace, and progress. The movement recognizes the leading role of the Communist Party in a socialist society and is a uniting link between the party's ideals of restructuring and the initiative of the widest strata of the popular masses. The movement is independent of any administrative interference. The movement cooperates with the CPSU through communists who are its members and implements the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

2. The main aim of the movement is to assist the Communist Party in creating and working out a democratic mechanism that will serve the development of society based on genuine people's power and a balanced economy. The movement comes out against any breaches of social, political, national, and ecological rights of an individual. The movement will strive to raise the level of consciousness, political culture, and civic activities of the Ukrainian people and of all nationalities living within the Ukrainian SSR for the renewal and assertion of national consciousness and internationalist convictions of all citizens of the republic. The movement will resolutely counteract any attempts to assimilate the national minorities in the Ukraine; and it will assist the development of culture and education of all of them, and in their places of residence assist their administrative and economic self-rule. The propaganda of national exclusiveness or of national nihilism is condemned by the movement as amoral and inhuman.

Proceeding from this, the PMU sets before itself the following aims:

a) To strive in our republic, just as in the whole country, to rescue the national economy from a difficult state and improve the natural environment so that in the coming years a substantial growth in the people's well-being can be secured;

b) With the assistance of the widest strata of people, to expose any attempts to slow down the process of democratization and glasnost in the Ukraine and to be a social guarantor of the revolutionary restructuring of society;

c) To assist the transformation of the Ukrainian SSR into a law-governed state where the rights of the individual and the free development of the person become the main features of the development of society;

d) To create conditions for the transition of the idea of people's power into a genuine, full power of the people and to demand the genuine sovereignty of the Ukraine and of other republics of the USSR, all land, water, air, minerals, energy resources, enterprises, transport routes, and communications of the republic are the property of the people and can be used by all-union or republican ministries only with the permission of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR;

e) The PMU must become the real spokesman for the vital and social interests of the Ukrainian people and of people of other nationalities living in the Ukraine; it will also maintain contacts with Ukrainians living in other fraternal republics and abroad.

3. In its activities the movement will observe the following main principles: friendship and mutual assistance with the peoples of the USSR; respect for the individual and defense of human rights; democratization and socialist pluralism; law and order; social justice and glasnost; and the absence of moral and political pressure and of intimidation of dissidents or any persecution for convictions.

4. The PMU will realize its aims in the following ways:

A. Organize its work in accordance with the constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and of the USSR and demand in every possible way that citizens, enterprises, organizations, and state and cooperative establishments be able to use in full their constitutional rights and fulfill the obligations imposed on them by the basic law;

B. Support the initiatives that deepen or accelerate restructuring and consolidate the people to effectively solve the social, ecological, and national problems of the Ukraine;

C. Fight for legitimate, economic, and political guarantees for the course of restructuring in our republic and in the whole country and for the implementation of radical reform in the fields of economy, health, education, culture, science, publishing matters, press, religion, and so forth;

D. Advance and support draft laws and other measures that enable the soviets of people's deputies at all levels to exercise real power, and fight to abolish or change obsolete legislative acts;

E. Come out against corruption, protectionism, the "telephonic right," and other abuses of power;

F. Fight to renew the structure of the Ukraine's national economy deformed by ministerial policies and extensive economic policies;

G. Systematically organise public opinion polls and publish their results, introduce proposals on holding referendums and assist in conducting them; if required, resort to constitutional means to influence the organs of power.

Democratization of Society. Human Rights. Rights of the People.

The struggle for the democratization and reform of the political system, commenced by the CPSU, will have an important place in the activities of the PMU.

The movement maintains: The bureaucratic system has conditioned the alienation of production workers (peasant and worker) from land and means of production and from the results of their work, which is antihuman and antisocialistic in essence. This leads to a moral, cultural, economic, and ecological degradation of the individual and of society. Jointly with the CPSU and with public associations of the Ukrainian SSR, the movement will exert all efforts to dismantle the administrative-bureaucratic system formed in the periods of

Stalinism and stagnation. The movement comes out for transforming the USSR into a genuine union of fraternal and sovereign peoples on the basis of the Leninist program of federalism.

The movement will demand the transformation of the soviets of people's deputies into competent and law-strengthened organs of people's representatives that will have full power on their territory. With this aim, it is necessary to delineate in a clear-cut manner the mandates and spheres of jurisdiction between local soviets, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The movement will stand for creating a law-based state, proceeding from the premise that the state exists for the people and not otherwise; for creating a state in which the people are the source of rights and law is above the state, its institutions, public organizations, and individual citizens. The state should shoulder a responsibility to its citizens equivalent to that of the citizens to the state.

In a law-governed state the interests of the majority are defended by the representative system (all laws are adopted by a majority vote in representative organs—soviets—or as a result of nationwide referendums). Together with this, in a law-governed state the interests of any minority or separate individual must be guaranteed and defended, primarily by juridical means. In the eyes of the law, conflicting organizations that have the status of juridical persons, or an individual who is in conflict with the state are equal and the last word belongs to the law.

The movement will uphold implementation of the declared rights of the Ukrainian SSR as a sovereign union republic and the people's right to decide its destiny for itself.

The movement will come out against the omnipotence of ministries and departments that inflict harm to the state, to people, and to the individual.

The movement deems it necessary for the democratization of society to have the right to freely nominate candidates as deputies of soviets at all levels without imposing them or "artificially selecting them." Supporting the efforts of society to perfect the election system, the movement will actively participate in election campaigns and nominate candidates of its own; and the movement will organize campaigns to recall deputies who compromise themselves by idleness or by activities that harm the people.

The movement reckons that full equality of every citizen and organ of power, regardless of its level or its specific representative, must be ensured before the law. Legality cannot become a victim of conjecture or personal, social, or political aims.

The movement believes that the UN General Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, and other international treaties ratified by the USSR must be recognized in full measure in our life.

The movement affirms that the state should juridically and practically guarantee the inviolability of the person and his abode, and the secrecy of correspondence and telegraphic, telephonic, and other types of communication. Persecution for political, social, racial, national, or religious motives and any limitations of civic and juridical rights of individuals are impermissible.

The movement upholds the right of every individual to preach any religion or not to preach any, to engage in religious rituals or conduct atheist propaganda.

The movement deems it every citizen's legitimate right to have free acces to information and the right of defense against disinformation. The movement raises the question of abolishing censorship, except in cases involving state or military secrets. The appropriate regulations on this should be approved in a legislative manner and published.

Neither avoiding polemics nor administrative methods, nor the suppression of criticism, democratic discussions of painful questions must become a norm of life. The right of glasnost and the freedom of thought and word should be defended by law. Any representative of the organs of power who attempts to disregard the right of glasnost is answerable in a court of law.

The movement emphasizes that the crimes of Stalinism were recognized as crimes against mankind and humanity, and as such will not be covered by the statutes of limitation. It is necessary to name the organizers and direct culprits of the crimes and also to publish the lists of victims of Stalinism, perpetuate their memory, and compensate for the moral, physical, and material losses of the victims. In this matter the movement cooperates with the memorial society.

The movement does not envisage the restructuring of the legal system without a public review of the cases of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who were unjustly imprisoned in the period of stagnation with the help of fabricated political or religious accusations, nor without calling to account the organizers of such cases.

The movement will strive to achieve the liquidation of all departmental and other normative acts that directly or indirectly restrict or negate the civic freedoms guaranteed by the constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR. The movement deems it necessary for the recently formed committee of constitutional control to maintain constant glasnost and provide information about its work.

Social Justice

The humanization of society is one of the most important tasks of the PMU.

The movement comes out for the right of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR to a free choice of place of residence and of the place where they spend their energy and possibilities.

The movement demands an objective calculation, with the public's participation, of the minimal standard of living, with the regular publication of data on this minimum; of the incomes of various population groups; of the index of prices and the dynamics of inflation processes. In doing so, a program for compensating for inflation, by way of timely and systematic increases in the population's incomes, should be worked out.

The movement affirms that our society should become a society of equal citizens, in which privileges and advantages according to nomenklatura criteria would be absent. The movement comes out for abolishing the very category of nomenklatura workers and their privileges. Official posts should be filled by people with professional competence and only on a contested and democratic basis.

The movement regards it as necessary to reconstruct the system of social security, wardenship, and charity; to work out a new mechanism for awarding pensions; and to create a public fund for assisting invalids, those living alone, and people of advanced age. The movement supports the "Miloserdiye" society and will cooperate with it.

The movement demands that the construction of living space in its various forms (financed by the state, cooperatives, and individuals) be increased with a gradual transition of residences into the possession of citizens. The movement will uphold full glasnost during the distribution of social and everyday wealth, primarily ensuring public control over the distribution of apartments.

The movement expresses itself in favor of a genuine emancipation of women, supporting the idea of working out the all-union and republican "Family" program. A higher number of children in a family should not lead to a substantial decline in its standard of living. For small and large families, residential, credit, and other advantages should, in a legislative way, be available. The raising of children by the mother at home should be recognized as a socially useful work and appropriately remunerated by society.

The movement believes that one of the most topical tasks faced by society is the protection of the health of the individual and the health of the people. The primary task here is the protection of the daily environment. Stress situations are spreading as well as so called socially-conditioned diseases like alcoholism, drug addiction, and AIDS. The problem can only be posed thus: a healthy individual needs a healthy social and natural environment.

The movement will strive for a fundamental restructuring of the health protection system. Together with those run by the state, medical establishments of a cooperative, individual, and insurance character financed by various public movements (various funds) must exist.

The movement demands the establishment of the "Health of the People" program, which would include the system of diagnostic treatment, rehabilitation, and recreation. It considers it necessary to work out a reliable and humane system of old age protection.

Economy

1. The PMU considers it necessary to transform the economy of the Ukrainian SSR into a genuinely socialist one, free of deformations and distortions, into a humane and ecologically healthy resource-balanced economy. Such an aim would correspond to the task of restructuring economic thinking in the entire world in the name of preserving mankind under conditions of the ever-growing global industrial dangers.

2. The movement supports the removal and dismantling of all consequences of bureaucratic-departmental arbitrarinness in the management of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR, consequences that have, in fact, led to pushing the republic's working people aside from participating in deciding their economic destinies, almost totally eliminated the economic sovereignity of the Ukrainian SSR, and given the Ukrainian SSR's economy spendthrift features. It is necessary to uproot everything impeding the use of the gains of the scientific-technical revolution for the good of socialist economy and leading to the transformation of human beings into an appendage of economy.

3. The movement believes that republican economic accounting must be on the basis of the republic's economic sovereignty.

The republic's economic sovereignity creates and supports conditions for a free development of Ukrainian ethnos, for the native population, for which the republic is the only territory for its national being and historical continuity. The economic sovereignty of the republic ensures the well-being and self-realization of all the nationalities living in the Ukraine. For this, the Ukrainian SSR Government must be given the right to subordinate economic decisions to the social and national-cultural tasks. The movement condemns the imposition upon the republic of growth rates, forms, and directions

of economic development and uncontrolled redistribution of resources, practiced by the ministerial-bureaucratic apparatus, that lead to parasitism and the squandering of indiscriminate equality.

4. The movement demands a rational restructuring of the structure of national economy and a change of priorities in the distribution of capital investments. It is necessary to switch over from an economy in which the mining and high energy-consuming branches play an excessively vast role, to an economy in which high-precision and complex machine building, ecologically safe and pure facilities, and the branches ensuring the growth of well-being will predominate. In this way the structure of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR will be modernized, freed from the domination of branches and enterprises that came into being at the early stages of industrialization, and will rise to the level of demands of the present stage of the scientific-technical revolution.

5. The movement believes that the compulsory collectivization conducted by Stalin and his toadies led to brutal violence against the peasants and belittled their feelings of being master of the land and their love for the land. It is necessary for the renewal of effective agricultural economy to take into account the national farming traditions and the world's present-day experience. The movement supports a flexible linking of small, medium, and large enterprises and the introduction of land-lease forms that would ensure effective agricultural production, taking into account the peculiarities of this branch. Land can be given to peasants for eternal use with the right to hand it down to successors.

6. Proceeding from the principles of socialist and national justice and economic efficiency, condemning the thoughtless levelling-out and parasitism between republican and ethnical regions, the movement favors an equivalent exchange between republics, for the development between them of direct cooperative relations, for the realization of joint economic programs on a commodity and fiscal basis, and for an independent entrance into world markets. All this will foster the development of economic partnership and the integration of the Ukrainian SSR with other republics of the union and with world markets on the basis of economic interests and voluntary mutual assistance.

The movement is convinced that it is precisely such a direction in the Ukrainian SSR's economic development that will help renew and strengthen a real federation of sovereign union republics on Leninist principles.

7. The movement opposes economic and other forms of decree by ministries and departments managing things on Ukrainian territory which are motivated by selfish, departmental aspirations that often lead to ecological catastrophes and economic difficulties. This type of countermanagement leads to economic and ecological collapse, gives rise to fatal disproportions in the republic's economic structure, necessitates migration on a scale exceeding a sensible level, and goes against the interests of both the republic and the union. It transforms economic life into a "melting pot" of denationalization of the indigenous population and the national minorities in the Ukrainian SSR.

8. The movement supports full glasnost and constant reporting on the republic's economic and administrative life, as well as on other republics, the entire union, and countries of the world. The mass media and scientific publications should systematically publish data on the state and dynamics of the economy and all its indices. Of particular importance is timely and truthful information on the qualitative state of agricultural production.

9. The movement considers that there must be immediate implementation of the recommendation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on informing the population about the contribution made by each republic or region to the overall union economy. This would make sure specific notions about the connection between the labor return and level of well-being of every citizen and every group of the population.

10. The movement shares the opinion that it would be in the interests of both the republic and the whole union to change the orientation of capital investments to the priority sectors of the Ukrainian SSR economy, to transfer to a system of credit relations between republic and union institution, and to institute a direct and understandable interdependence between the work of the people of the Ukrainian SSR and the level of their well-being. In this way, the fraternal mutual assistance between peoples of the USSR would acquire a healthier, more effective, and clearer character, which would also give it an incomparably greater internationalist educative impact than is currently the case.

11. The movement is of the opinion that the economic renewal of the Ukrainian SSR corresponds both to the interests of the republic and those of the whole union and all its fraternal peoples. Renewal of the economic sovereignty of the republics and their collaboration on the basis of free development of all peoples in a free and united socialist state opens up prospects for guaranteed progress in economic, social, cultural, and other spheres.

Ecology

The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring considers its primary tasks in this sphere to be:

1. To strive for the resolution of the laws on sovereignty of the republic in carrying out all economic, legal, and administrative measures to protect the environment.

2. To support in every way possible the formation of a "green movement", and the activity of a number of ecological groups aimed at nature protection.

3. The movement insists on a radical re-examination of the policy on energy and above all of the program for developing the nuclear power industry in the Ukraine and demands an end to the construction of the Chigirin and Crimean AES's, and to the construction of new power units at existing nuclear power stations in the republic. It is essential that examination by extradepartmental experts be carried out at existing AES's to establish the adequacy of their level of technical safety. The Chernobyl AES should stop operating.

4. The movement does not envisage democratization and glasnost without full and comprehensive information about the presence of nitrates in foodstuffs, radioactive contamination of water and air, the impregnation of soil and reservoirs with toxic substances, and so on. On this basis, parameters should be established corresponding to international health norms, the veil of secrecy should be lifted from ecological indices, and a special ecological bulletin should be issued.

5. The movement will strive to prevent the construction of especially ecologically dangerous enterprises—above all chemical and metallurgical—in areas of high population density and industrial saturation. The construction of industrial projects, presenting even the slightest threat to the ecological situation, can only be carried out after an objective and professional examination by experts and nationwide discussion, and, where necessary, after a referendum has been conducted in the republic. Areas of particular significance, nature reserves, and historic or cultural monuments should be exempt from this kind of economic development, which causes them irreparable harm.

6. The movement demands that the Ministry of Atomic Power assume full legal and moral responsibility before the population of the republic for losses due to radioactive contamination of lands, that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources assume responsibility for floodlands and swamplands and land suffering erosion and excess salt, and that the State Agro-industrial Committee assume responsibility for the pollution of rivers and lands by the gigantic animal complexes.

7. The movement considers that developing the republic's economy is impossible without the creation and circulation of a complete register of the Ukraine's lands and legal protection of the greatest treasures belonging to the people. The absence of such a register and fees for natural resources allows ministries and departments to insist demagogically that this or that enterprise is economically viable and profitable, since these costs do not include the value of the land and other natural resources.

8. The movement asserts that there is a need to introduce a system of constant ecological observations and investigations, as well as ecological monitoring. Nature protection bodies should be provided with the latest equipment. Their right to "veto" any ecologically hazardous project should be inviolable.

9. The movement stresses the need to develop an ecologically pure, energy-saving, and nonpolluting mode of production and to reorient and shut down industrial sites that threaten environmental and human health.

10. It is essential to establish real criminal responsibility for violating ecological legislation, putting the gravest among them on the same footing as crimes against humanity.

The Nationality Question, Language, and Culture

1. The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring considers one of its most important tasks to be drawing public attention to the democratic and just resolution of problems concerning the existence and development of the Ukrainian people, their equality with other nations of the USSR, state sovereignty, language, and culture on the basis of theoretical precepts and practical methods formulated by Lenin regarding nationality policy. There is no real internationalism where national interests and rights are ignored or pushed into the background. The national and international only exist in an inseparable unity. Natural and normal processes of internationalization and the drawing together and mutual enrichment of nations have nothing in common with their mechanical "merging," assimilation, and indiscriminate equality.

2. As a result of gross violations of the Leninist policy on nationality during the Stalin and Brezhnev eras, and the extermination of a considerable part of the Soviet Ukrainian creative and scientific intelligentsia, some deformations in relations between nationalities occurred, the use of the Ukrainian language was substantially reduced, and the prestige of Ukrainian culture artificially lowered. Now we need radical state measures aimed at truly consolidating national justice, renewing the people's spiritual and moral riches, and ensuring the broad usage and comprehensive development of the Ukrainian language—the definitive factor in the existence of a people as a race [etnos].

The language of every people is the foundation of its national being and a treasure specific to mankind. The "voluntary" extinction of languages under socialism (if this does happen) is the most scathing accusation that can be aimed at the system of bureaucratic administration. The end result of this would be an act against socialism as a society of free and equal peoples.

3. Thus the movement considers that the first and most urgent step to be taken in resolving the pressing questions of national and cultural renewal should be granting the Ukrainian language the status of state language of the Ukrainian SSR. Striving to achieve this constitutional act, the movement proposes to secure legislatively in practice the revival and consolidation of the Ukrainian

language in spheres of party, state, and public life, science and culture, production and record-keeping, secondary and higher education, and preschool establishments.

A law on the official status of the Ukrainian language would in no way limit the functioning of the Russian language as a means of international communications in the USSR or the free development of languages of national minorities and groups living on the territory of the Ukraine. Every citizen would enjoy freely the right to use his native language.

4. The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring considers:

—That Ukrainian language and literature should be compulsory subjects at all schools, colleges, and technical colleges on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

—That it is essential to introduce entrance exams in Ukrainian for all who leave school in the Ukrainian SSR wishing to enter the republic's higher education estgablishments, regardless of their subordination; that it is essential to bring about a gradual transfer to teaching in Ukrainian at all specialized secondary and higher education establishments of the Ukrainian SSR; that it is necesary to adhere to the principle of a numerical correlation between nursery and general educational establishments and the quantitative national composition of the population of a given area; and that the practice of parental free choice in the language of education, which in the conditions that have arisen in our republic leads to national nihilism, the growth of narrow-mindedness, and the raising of rootless people, should be reviewed from the viewpoint of legal and moral norms;

—That Ukrainian cinema, theaters, radio and television, other forms of mass information, variety, and so on should develop in such a way that gives priority to the Ukrainian language on the territory of the republic;

—That all republican forums, sessions, plenums and ceremonial meetings should be held in the Ukrainian language;

—That a wide network of courses, groups, and faculties should be created for the study of Ukrainian for all who wish to do so;

—That the work of the "Taras Shevchenko" Ukrainian-language society and other national culture societies in the republic should be assisted in every way possible.

5. The movement considers the instilling of national dignity, historical memory, love for one's native language, and a caring attitude to one's national cultural inheritance, the preservation of monuments, and the broad and objective explanation and teaching of all the pages of history of the Ukrainian people to be one of the main tasks facing the appropriate state institutions and cultural establishments, and creative and youth organizations.

The movement will assist the renewal of national medical science and teaching, agronomy and horticulture, national craftsmanship, national rituals, and customs.

6. Caring about the wholeness of the Ukrainian people's national and cultural development, the movement at the same time comes out against ignoring the national interests of Russians or representatives of other nationalities, which either as compact communities (Bulgarians, Moldavians, Hungarians, Poles, Crimean Tatars, Gagauz, Greeks, and others) or members of a diaspora (Jews, Belorussians, Gypsies, and others) live on the republic's territory. They must have the genuine right to open schools or classes, with instruction in their own languages; to create societies of compatriots; to form associations; to have their theaters and press; and to propagate the values of their peoples.

7. The movement believes that a similar right should also be applied to Ukrainians living beyond the borders of the Republic in the Kuban, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Far East, Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities and regions. Ensuring their spiritual requirements should become the state concern of the republic's government, Ministry of Culture, and public organizations, as well as all-union institutions and the governments of other republics.

8. The movement comes out in favor of closest contacts with Ukrainians living beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. In this respect it will cooperate with the "Ukraina" Society, thus fostering the infrangibility [nerozryvnist] of the Ukrainian people and their culture.

9. The movement is convinced that genuine friendship between peoples can only be achieved on the basis of mutual respect for the language, culture, history, and traditions of each people. Knowing the native language and using it to create native culture is a matter of consciousness and patriotic duty, a sign of cultivation of every Ukrainian. Knowing and respecting this language is a sign of the internationalist upbringing of every individual living among the Ukrainian people.

10. Coming out in support of respect for national dignity and against national nihilism, the movement considers that the propaganda of national exclusiveness and of chauvinist and nationalist views is incompatible with its principles.

The upholding of the Leninist principles of internationalism and friendship of peoples is the pivot of the movement's activities in the matter of improving and harmonizing inter-nationality relations.

Organizational Structure and Forms of Activities

1. Every citizen not younger than 15 years, regardless of his nationality, party membership, religious or atheistic convictions, etc, can become a member of the PMU, provided he supports the Communist Party's course of restructuring and the movement's program and takes part in its activities.

2. Citizens who wish to become members of the PMU unite and create groups of the movement. Each group is self-governed (has autonomous rights) and coordinates its work with the nearest branch of the movement.

3. A branch can unite up to several hundred members, is self-governed, and via its representative coordinates its work with the movement board where it is initially registered.

4. Public organizations can join the movement as separate groups or branches, provided they share and support its program.

5. Congress, during the initial period of growth convened once a year, and later, once every 2 years, is the highest ruling body of the PMU.

Congress elects the council, board, and other ruling organs of the PMU.

6. The movement's chairman and his deputies are elected by the council for no longer than 2 consecutive terms.

7. The board is the continuously acting board of the PMU.

8. Control over economic and financial activities of the movement is exercised by the Auditing Commission.

9. The chairman of the PMU, the council, the board, and the Auditing Commission carry out their duties on a voluntary basis.

10. The PMU has the rights of a juridical person.

The final working-out and approval of organizational-structural principles of the Movement is the matter for the constituent congress.

[Signed] The initiatory group of the Kiev Branch of the Ukraine Writers Union

[Signed] The initiatory group of the T. Shevchenko Literature Institute of the Ukranian SSR Academy of Sciences

Moldavian Language Development Examined

PM0903095589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[ATEM report: "From Interdepartmental Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the Interdepartmental Commission to Study the History and Problems of Development of the Moldavian Language has been held at the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It was chaired by A.A. Mokanu, commission chairman and chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The following reports were submitted for discussion: "The Regularization of Moldavian Onomastics and the Introduction of Customary Terminology Into All Spheres of Activity" by Candidate of Philological Sciences A.I. Yeremiya, chief of the language history department of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature; and "Social Functions of the Moldavian Language and Ways To Broaden Them. Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the Republic" by Candidate of Philological Sciences Prof I.P. Chernyy, chief of the Moldavian language department of Kishinev's V.I. Lenin State University. The working materials of the first and fourth sections of the interdepartmental commission were also offered to the commission members for study and generalization.

Candidate of Philological Sciences N.G. Matkash, commission secretary and chief of the Moldavian language department of Kishinev's I. Creanga State Pedagogic Institute, reviewed letters and materials on language issues published in the republic periodical press, as well as those addressed to the interdepartmental commission since the previous session.

The commission received more than 70 letters, including collective ones, signed by approximately 12,000 people. The overwhelming majority of them (95.5 percent) fully support the commission's decisions reflected in its resolution of 28 December 1988. There are supporters of resolving these questions by means of a nationwide referendum and of granting both Moldavian and Russian the status of a state language.

In the report submitted by the commission's first section A.I. Yeremiya analyzed the practice of using proper names and geographic names, as well as special terminologies. Despite the fact that the Moldavian literary language has been enriched by current and terminological vocabulary recorded in many terminological and general language dictionaries, he pointed out, a limiting of opportunities for cognition and profound mastering of the language by the majority of its speakers has recently begun to be clearly manifested. The reasons are well known: the limiting of the spheres of its functioning;

gaps and mistakes committed in the education system; passiveness and indifference to vitally important questions of mastering and using the Moldavian literary language.

Terminology is the sector in which it has suffered and is continuing to suffer most of all. Facing the facts, it has to be stated that the functions of the Moldavian language in the spheres of sociopolitical life, management, and production activity, not to mention science and technology, are severely limited. The narrowness of its functioning prevents it from keeping in step with society's progress.

In the scientist's opinion, the first step toward improving the state of affairs must be the introduction of instruction in all subjects in the native language in Moldavian groups when training specialists for the republic's economy, particularly in secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, as well as in vocational and technical schools and on all kinds of short courses, where Moldavian terminology should definitely be mastered in parallel with Russian. In this way the conviction will be fostered that the Moldavian language also possesses the necessary means for designating all existing realities. This does not mean that the use of Russian will be restricted.

Speaking about Moldavian onomastics, the speaker pointed out that undisguised voluntarism is to be observed in this sphere. Proper names and the names of population centers, particularly villages, are frequently rendered inaccurately and with errors, and inadmissible adaptations and distortions occur when they are written in Russian, contradicting scientific principles of the phonetic transcription of placenames in the borrowing language. Similar liberties are taken with regard to Moldavian personal names and surnames.

For a long time the scientific, cognitive, and practical significance of placenames was disregarded in the republic. Many of the traditional names of population centers have been replaced by artificially created appellations which do not correspond to the natural and geographic environment or historical traditions. Yet placenames are a rich and valuable source for cognition and study of the people's history, language, and culture. Therefore they must not be arbitrarily replaced by other appellations or be modified and mangled at someone's whim. Toponymy has its own rules and laws, which must be known and respected. A.I. Yeremiya listed dozens of villages to which it is time to return their old, traditional names and thus return to people their historical memory.

In the report submitted by the commission's fourth section I.P. Chernyy scientifically substantiated the need to broaden the social functions of the Moldavian language and its sphere of application—which is conditioned by a number of reasons, primarily the language's "lagging" behind the evolutionary changes taking place in society. Today this laggardness is to be observed in all its functional styles, with the exception of fiction and current affairs.

In the speaker's opinion, such one-sided development of the Moldavian language can only be rectified if it is given the status of a state language—which would ensure its use in all spheres of economic, political, and cultural life. It was emphasized that decreeing Moldavian a state language will in no way encroach upon other languages.

The speaker proposed the following ways to broaden the social functions of Moldavian: the introduction of instruction in the native tongue in Moldavian groups in vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions; the compilation of administrative, party, financial, juridical, and other types of documentation selectively in Moldavian and Russian; the publication in these two languages of all kinds of advertizing, visual information, texts of price lists, posters, invitation cards, and so forth; the publication of scientific works and the defense of candidates' and doctors' theses in Moldavian; the publication of all kinds of bilingual dictionaries, guidebooks, and phrase books. The speaker believes that the leaders of various organizations, enterprises, and departments must know both the state language of the Moldavian SSR and Russian—the language of interethnic communication. This also applies to specialists in the spheres of medicine, agriculture, law, consumer services, motor transport, and others who come into daily contact with representatives of various nationalities.

The speaker touched on problems of bilingualism and multilingualism in the republic. Among the measures that the republic's public could take to develop bilingualism he mentioned, in particular, the need to mobilize all language teachers and instructors, artists, writers, journalists, and students of philology who could lead circles for the study of Moldavian in various labor collectives. The participation of Moldavians in active propaganda of Russian and, conversely, the participation of non-Moldavians in propaganda of Moldavian among their own people would also help to assert harmonious bilingualism in Moldavia.

Speaking of the problem of multilingualism, the scientist pointed out that it concerns representatives of many nationalities inhabiting the republic—Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Gagauz, Jews, Germans, and others. For them knowledge of their native tongue and of Russian is necessary above all. Knowledge of Moldavian remains desirable but in no way obligatory for them.

The session was addressed by specialist scientists invited from Moscow. Doctor of Philological Sciences A.V. Superanskaya, leading scientific staffer and chief of the terminology and onomastics group of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics, emphasized that terminology must not be created to "catch up" with the

development of a certain sector of science or production but should keep in step with it. The practice of "translation terminology" which has taken shape in Moldavia, when special concepts are automatically translated from Russian, is flawed and must be eradicated. For this it is necessary, above all during instruction in VUZ's and secondary specialized educational institutions, to familiarize Moldavian speakers with the Moldavian terminology of their future specialty, so that they can employ it in their research or production activity.

Candidate of Philological Sciences Z.V. Rubtsova, scientific staffer of the Central Scientific Research Institute of Geodesy, Aerial Surveying, and Cartography, said that she and her colleagues at the laboratory for the standardization of USSR geographic names have made repeated attempts, starting in the sixties, to regularize the writing of Moldavian SSR geographic names. The speaker emphasized the need for the speediest reinstatement on the map of the Moldavian SSR of all traditional geographic names in their original form, without any Russian-style distortions or adaptations.

A.A. Mokanu summed up the session's work.

Participating in the work of the interdepartmental commission's session were the commission's deputy chairmen—N.F. Bondarchuk, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and M.S. Platon, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Moscow Voluntary Militia's Work Criticized

PM0703114589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 4

[Report by I. Voyevodin: "Voluntary Militia Will Join Detail"]

[Text] Every day, according to the reports, 8,000-9,000 people go out on duty onto the Moscow streets in the voluntary detachments. If you use these figures, then crime should have disappeared long ago. But how do matters actually stand?

As of 1 January this year there were a little over 3,000 voluntary detachments with a total of 356,000 people in the city. Last year, with their assistance, 3 percent of crimes were intercepted through criminal investigation channels, and 24 percent of crimes in the struggle against embezzlements of socialist property. Well, that is quite a lot if you bear in mind that it is nonprofessionals who are going out to patrol the streets. But last year the number of street crimes increased over 50 percent, the number of murders nearly doubled, the number of robberies with violence increased 70 percent, the number of thefts 60 percent, the number of thefts of personal property a little over 50 percent, and the number of thefts of automobiles by 75 percent.... You must agree that against the background of these statistics the activity of the voluntary people's detachments does not look good.

But practice attests that the voluntary people's detachments can indeed give substantial assistance to the militia if a few conditions are observed. First of all it is essential to recruit to the detachment the people who really want to be recruited, and can serve. And not women nearing pension age, just for the sake of the reports. Then specific training is essential, and, most important, close collaboration with the militia, since voluntary militia details are often left to their own devices, no one monitors the patrol routes, and no one can be seen on point duty.

The Moscow city headquarters of the voluntary people's detachments for safeguarding public order is worried by the situation which has taken shape. A recent session which examined cooperation between the internal affairs organs and the Sokolnicheskiy Rayon voluntary people's detachments was devoted to restructuring the activity of the voluntary people's detachments.

Over the past year less than 2 percent of crimes—through criminal investigation channels—and 11 percent of crimes—in the struggle against embezzlements of socialist property—were detected with the aid of the voluntary militia here. Of 132 crimes recorded during the operation of the voluntary people's detachments on the streets and in some public places, only 2 were intercepted with the aid of the voluntary militia.... A check revealed that the local internal affairs organs had reduced all work with the voluntary people's detachments to a mere determination of the approximate number of voluntary people's detachments' details for a specific measure, or for duty with patrol and point duty service. A number of voluntary detachments (of the fourth section of the track of the tram transport administration, of the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries repair and construction administration, and others) take no part at all in safeguarding order, and many simply go off duty, yet the reports record that they have worked a full shift....

The decision of the city headquarters of the voluntary people's detachments contains specific measures to rectify the situation: first of all, the recertification of all rayon detachments, the determination of each detachment member's contribution, and constant monitoring of the training and activity of the voluntary assistants. Nor can we do without serious work with the detachments in the militia departments.

Moscow Voluntary Militia Aktiv Holds Conference

PM0603132189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA-MOSTASS report: "Conference of Moscow Voluntary People's Militia Aktiv Held Yesterday"]

[Text] The conference was devoted to the tasks of the voluntary people's militia in enhancing the effectiveness of their activity. In the hall were workers of the CPSU

Central Committee raykoms and the rayispolkoms, heads of the rayon voluntary people's militia headquarters, representatives of the city, and activists of the voluntary people's militia. Yu.A. Vinogradov, chief of the city voluntary people's militia headquarters for keeping public order and secretary of the Moscow Gorispolkom, delivered the report.

Comparison of Politburo Agrarian Policy Session

PM0503180589

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 4 March 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 2 an unattributed report on the 2-3 March CPSU Central Committee Politburo session examining agrarian policies, headlined "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo." This item has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version of the report published in the 6 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 63-64, revealing the following variation:

page 63, column two, paragraph five, from first sentence, TASS version reads: ...Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; A.F. Ponomarev... (adding Mesyat's name and title)

New CPSU Body Aimed Against 'Nomenklatura'

PM2802123389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session of CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee commission on questions of party building and cadre policy has held its first session.

The commission discussed the main directions of its future activity. During the exchange of opinions it was noted that the commission has to work out a broad range of topical problems of party building and cadre policy stemming from life, the practice of restructuring, and the guidelines of the 27th party congress. They should reflect the processes of democratizing the party's life, restructuring its activity in demarcating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs, and enhancing the vanguard role of party organizations and Communists.

The session participants outlined specific questions to be discussed by the commission. They include questions of the formation and strengthening of party ranks, the enhancement of the role of primary party organizations and the party's elected organs, the reorientation of party organs toward political methods of leadership, the restructuring of cadre work in conditions of its democratization, and the renunciation of the formal approach to cadre selection and placement based on the nomenklatura system. An important place in the commission's plans will be taken by the generalization of the experience of mass political work which party organizations are acquiring during the election campaigns and other events held as part of the political reform.

Great attention will be paid to preparation for the routine 28th CPSU Congress. The commission will have to study the proposals of party organizations and Communists on questions of party building, make their recommendations on those questions, and present conclusions on draft party documents including those which will be submitted for discussion by the whole party or the whole people.

The session participants approved the commission's work plan for 1989 and reached agreement on the organization of its activity. It was stressed that the commission will work on collective and democratic principles, basing itself on the initiative and activeness of all its members. It will rely in its work on CPSU Central Committee departments and the broad party aktiv. It is envisaged that scientists and specialists will be involved in elaborating these questions.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's instruction, the commission examined the results of the report and election campaign in the party. During the discussion of this question it was noted that the reports and elections held in party organizations are of great significance for solving the revolutionary tasks of socialist renewal.

The report and election campaign was based entirely on the political guidelines of the 19th party conference, which marked the transition to the practical implementation of the policy and strategy of restructuring. It was marked by broad democracy, a critical spirit, openness, and a free expression of opinions. Activating the restructuring forces in the party, it gave a powerful impetus to the implementation of the political reform and of all transformations in the country's economic, social, and spiritual life.

The reports and elections have convincingly shown that the all-around progress of socialist society cannot be ensured without the party's political activity and without the directing and organizing actions of party organizations and committees. The revelation of the party's potential as society's political vanguard and the orientation toward fully mobilizing it so that the irreversibility and success of restructuring are ensured—that is the main result of the report and election campaign in the CPSU.

As the session participants noted, Communists at the report and election meetings and conferences expressed a great many constructive proposals which should be considered thoroughly and taken into account when the commission is elaborating topical problems of party

building. This wealth of vital material will be a basis for determining effective measures aimed at the further democratization of intraparty life and the leading activity of the CPSU.

The commission also heard a report on the functions and structure of the CPSU Central Committee party building and cadre policy department. The specific features of the department's work in the new conditions, the tasks facing it, and its cadre potential were characterized.

The session was addressed by Comrades V.A. Ivashko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; A.N. Gerasimov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Gorkom; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.P. Tikhomirov, turner and drill operator at Moscow's electrical engineering plant named for Vladimir Ilich; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; M.A. Knyazyuk, first secretary of Ivanovo CPSU Obkom; L.N. Spiridonov, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA; V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; M.S. Mendybayev, second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; Z.I. Borovikova, first secretary of Kurganinskiy CPSU Raykom in Krasnodar Kray; B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; G.I. Usmanov, first secretary of Tatar CPSU Obkom; M.S. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.V. Nikolskiy, second secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.I. Lobov, party committee secretary of the "Izhmash" production association named for D.F. Ustinov in the Udmurt ASSR; and V.I. Zorkaltsev, first secretary of Tomsk CPSU Obkom.

The commission session was chaired by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Kolkhoz System Failures Examined

LD0603143589 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 6, 2-8 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Edvardas Rudys entitled, "Kolkhozes—Stalin's Babies," under the rubric "Unhappy Thoughts"]

[Excerpts] **V. I. Lenin visualized and wrote about a different type of cooperation: A COMMON POT DOES NOT NOURISH**

As I read, during my high school years, V. I. Lenin's article "On Cooperation", I was able to grasp: a kolhoz—is not the form of organization as was described there.

My father stopped working in a kolkhoz after one year.

"I can not continue like this," he said. "The entire brigade waits for the last member to arrive, but they stop working the minute the first man leaves, even if the workday is not yet over."

This is how people work when their labor is calculated in a "common pot." Each one strives to work no better and no more than the laziest of the lot. Yet, they are being urged on by the brigade leader and party organization secretary. [passage omitted]

An anecdote comes to mind, in which several men, on their way to a party, decided not to be proud; one was to bring a strong and expensive bottle of liquor, the other a cheap variety; they agreed to empty the contents in the same "common pot" and destroy the bottles. After pouring themselves drinks from the "common pot," they placed their full glasses on the table, only to discover they contained plain water. Similar results are obtained from all common compensation "pots," as they are assembled at the end of a year, with material incentives for year-end results. This is also what happens with all our collective labor; a comparison of its results with those of the developed capitalist countries reveals, this has occurred already, we are lagging behind hopelessly. In spite of the fact we posess two-thirds of the world's black soil, we purchase 22 percent of our grain abroad in exchange for gold; if we were to estimate our total volume of food products imported from abroad, the result would amount to every second kilogram of our grain. Such are the "fruits" of our collective labor.

Economists are unable to establish, a unit of measure, which would enable them to estimate the volume and quality of general labor output of individual collective workers, and how it affects the end labor result, production volume and quality, and plant expenditures. The currently used labor participation coefficient is a subjective indicator incapable of measuring labor volume and quality and their impact on the end product.

Some economically sound farms do exist in Lithuania, however, their strength does not stem from collective work, but rather to the contrary,—it results from the discipline established by the farm leader and specialists. These are not collective labor results, but those of employed individuals working together, and also, they are results of strict accounting of manufacture standards control. We have a favorite expression: "Give us a competent leader, and farm affairs will improve." This indicates the farm's economy essentially depends on subjective labor results of a single individual, but not on those of a collective. What then can such economy amount to, if it can be ravaged by a single individual and it receives no impact from those working there, since the workers are joined together coercively to "common" labor and common poverty? **COERCION—ONLY FOUNTAIN OF EFFECTIVENESS ?**

Stalin's collectivization ideas are not original. They were substantiated by contemporaries of Marx, Proudhon, During, and Rodbertrus. Their reasoning and conclusions have been put into practice in Stalin's kolkhozes. Having established military barracks' socialism, we have reached the critical limit. In place of genuine economic development to raise labor productivity and economic

effectiveness, coersion is the first order of day. Since the means of production can be removed forcibly, coersion is not effective in forcing either single individuals, or collectives, to perform well.

That is why, we have not founded anything socialist, although we ourselves have long suffered and have forced and transported others to Siberia.

The principle of value governs economics; its basis is comprised of a socially necessary work time requirement and the supply and demand factor; market contains all of this. I wish to emphasize Stalinist coercion is not a phenomenon of the past. Unshared kolkhoz funds are among its manifestations. The entire bureaucratic government apparatus and many farm officials are fighting for this concept.

Lenin's idea sets forth an alliance, let us suppose it is an alliance for production fulfilment, comprised of individuals who have joined it of their own volition. They may join it, contributing their resources and leave it, taking along, not only their contributed portion, but also some of the additional gain. The Stalinist kolkhoz is a coercive inclusion of population into a collective, and the expropriation of production and circulating capital means. Upon leaving the kolkhoz, an individual is not provided his share of production funds, since they have been converted into "unshared funds." When will this practice be abolished?

V. Rackauskas, chairman of Kivyliai Kolkhoz in Akmene Rayon stated: "Kolkhoz workers can not become tenants, since the land they are 'leasing' is their property."

He is correct.

If a kolkhoz worker were given to understand that after 30 years of work in a kolkhoz, he would earn R20 thousand in "unshared" funds, and that would be his capital, his attitude toward fund utilization would become totally different. If an incompetent administrator were to be placed in charge of the kolkhoz, the worker could tell him: "Since you do not know how to utilize it, give me back my capital, and I will invest it elsewhere. Such a turn of events is especially dreaded by many farm administrators, who fear the kolkhoz workers will dissipate in various directions. We will have established, nevertheless, something akin to V. I. Lenin's cooperation, given there exist genuine collective labor and free options to join and leave (with contributed capital). Only a collective, organized along democratic principles, will be able to stand up to bureaucracy and administrator willfulness and incompetence.

A farm administrator should act for the benefit of kolkhoz workers and not that of officials and "military communism" economics. **WHAT CAN BE GAINED FROM LEASING?**

The subject of leasing is ridiculed, since it is viewed as synonymous with that which existed in pre-war Lithuania. Keeping in mind the land belongs to the state, which will not sell it, there remain two methods of land acquisition, namely, land allotment or leasing. In the event a parcel of land is alotted (leased) for an indefinite period of time, with inheritance rights, an individual regards himself as its owner.

The kolhoz, which many tenants refer to as a parasite, is currently interfering between the state and the individual. The individual owner feels, why should I, who work on leased land, be obliged to support the kolkhoz and pay the debts of its farming failures? I want nothing to do with the kolkhoz; let the state give me land, for I need assurance the kolkhoz administrator's whims will not be able to stifle individual farm economics.

A farmer's path to self-reliance in not easy. Many pitfalls exist prior to receiving permission for this, and no fewer follow after; one must discover where to obtain equipment, and how to achieve production based on pricing equivalent to farm pricing. There exist no egalitarian partnership premises. Many have lost faith in individual farming.

A. Giedraitis, chairman of Eriskiai Kolkhoz, Panevezys Rayon states: "I have in my hand a copy of a state act, granting the permanent use of a parcel of land to a citizen. Less than three years later, another act appears, concerning the same parcel of land (again for "permanent use") which is now granted to the kolkhoz; Now we wish to grant that same parcel of land, for the third time, to an individual, again for permanent use. Can this person continue to have faith in our state acts and our law?"

How does the work of small collectives differ from that of the large ones, which we are accustomed to? First, these collectives must be formed freely. Trust must prevail throughout them; here, my partner shall work no less than I will. The common pot syndrome, with all its effects, will not be found in this collective. Secondly, chances for mutual self checks, are more efective in small collectives. Thirdly, individuals of similar qualifications and labor potential are assembled there. [passage omitted]

A lease alters, in principle, economic relations between the farm and its worker. If previously a worker did, not concern himself at all, with work expenditures and work compensation was guaranteed for him (he worked according to paid manufacturing standards) then having changed to lease conditions, he is paid on the bssis of final production results. A contract determines how much the worker shall produce, what compensation he will receive from the farm (not just work compensation, but total expenses inclusive)and how much he will have to pay the farm for feed and other services. The worker realizes in economizing and completing his work with less expenditures, (he determines this for himself) the

resultant saving will be his compensation. Not only does production volume occupy a principal position in economics, but so do its quality and amount of expenditures. Practice has demonstrated advice of the most clever of specialists appears of little significance in comparison with creative initiative, which comes into play when an owner begins to work.

Leasing also determines relations among workers. When feed was distributed (not sold) it was useful to appropriate some for oneself, of to write down 1.2 or 1.5, in place of 1 ton. After all, no one had to pay for the additional amount of feed, if it had been used up. Everything has to be purchased under lease conditions, thus making appropriation for oneself of no use Ruble control develops an active,live aspect.

It is difficult to instill production economic accountability through leasing. The process is hindered not only by ruble devaluation, but also by conservative accounting practices and people's way of thinking. **THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE.**

It is apparent from the current muddle in social relations, Lithuania's agriculture is torn apart by contradictions. Because of inertia we continue to roll down hill. The rural population distrusts the government, farmers' traditions have disappeared, there are no conditions in support of owner workers and many soviet and party bureaucrats oppose new ideas. Because of this, very few restructuring elements can be found in rural areas, in spite of the fact, renewal is in its fourth year. [passage omitted]

Principles of economics, like principles of nature, can not be either created or abolished. We have been attempting to discover socialist economics, based on principles of socialism, for 60 years. It is impossible for an economy to exist without real money, a market, supply and demand, regulation of state economic affairs and state independence. There is no alternative.

* Tallinn 'Intermovement' Holds Conference

WA18000498 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by A.Podvezko: "The Tallinn Founding Conference of the Intermovement"]

[Text] The Tallinn founding conference of the International Movement was held on 15 January at the old Political Education House. In the past 6 months the level of political culture in Estonia has risen noticeably. It was evident during the entire conference, from the registration and attestation of delegates to the passage of the final documents and election of leadership entities.

Getting ahead of the story, I would like to say a few words on the findings of the attestation commission. According to its chairman, 443 delegates were elected to the conference by 110 of Tallinn's enterprises and organizations, and 419 took part in the conference. Of those, 57 percent were members or candidate members of the CPSU, and 47 percent [figures as published] nonmembers. One fourth of all delegates were blue-collar workers, 68 percent white-collar workers, and the rest retirees. As to their ethnic makeup, the overwhelming majority, or 333 delegates, were Russians. Overall, representatives of 15 nationalities were present at the conference, including 4 Estonians.

A report on the political situation in Tallinn was read by Igor Konovalov.

Having described the history of the Intermovement's founding, Konovalov stated that the situation in the republic as a whole and in the city remains tense.

Intermovement, stressed Konovalov, bears no responsibility for the existing tense situation, even though the movement has made some mistakes and has its own shortcomings.

It is difficult to assess whether or not this point of view is correct, since the speaker left out relevant arguments.

The part of the report which discussed the possibilities of consolidating various public movements seemed more constructive. What is required? A principled approach, unwavering fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, objective reporting of events by the media, and responsibility on the part of those movements' leaders. The basis for such consolidation exists: It consists of the problems that all Estonia residents share: environmental protection, improvements in health care, struggle against bureaucratism, assistance to orphanages and families with many children, and so on.

Oleg Morozov reported on the draft law on language. He is the future editor of the newsletter to be put out by the Intermovement.

Yuriy Stepanovskiy and Anatoliy Yumalov reported on the declaration and the charter of the Intermovement. They said that those documents had been through a long and difficult drafting period. Since philosophers, sociologists and lawyers are still in short supply in the movement, the declaration and the charter were drafted with the help from the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism and from specialists in Latvia's Interfront.

Speeches that followed were, as would be expected, sharper and more critical than the official reports.

Yelena Bogomolenko, a member of the Intermovement's coordinating council, contrasting the republic-wide economic accounting system with IME [Estonian economic development plan proposed by the People's Front],

claimed that the latter contradicts the principle of union-wide integration, since IME presupposes a union contract, that is a confederation, which means, in her opinion, a weakening of the links within the union.

It seems doubtful that so superficial a comparison of the two ideas could give rise to anything other than rumors.

Arnold Say, a representative of the Tartu Intermovement council, raised the question of the movement's tactics in the current campaign to nominate candidates for the election of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. He insisted on the principle of proportional representation of nationalities among the deputies. He called on the audience to condemn those candidates whose reputation has been tarnished in the nationalities question and to join forces with the Joint Council of Labor Collectives.

Sergey Miroshnichenko quoted V.Vyalyas, who had spoken at the Khiyumaaskiy rayon party conference on how carefully and apprehensively the nationalities question should be handled. Then he cited examples showing how the actions of party members at the grass-roots level are often at variance with the statements of party leadership.

All other speeches where equally intense. Nevertheless, they also showed the desire to come to terms and to solve common problems together with other organizations.

At the conclusion of the conference, the delegates approved the declaration and the charter of the Intermovement, as well as resolutions on the political situation, the republic-wide economic accounting system, and the law on language, and elected the presidium of the Tallinn city council.

*** 'Extremism' of Estonian Informal Groups Denied**
WA18000499 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Kheynts Valk, political cartoonist, member of the Estonian People's Front's leadership by E.Kekelidze: "Who is the Most Extreme?"; date, place not specified]

[Text] Are there still in our life topics that are off limits to public discussion? Theoretically, there should be none: Both the 19th party conference and the 11th plenum of the Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee have yet again confirmed it. Indeed, such previously taboo areas have been laid open before the eyes of the public as the blank spots of history, the special collection sections at libraries and the lives and fate of people whose names have virtually been unknown to today's generations. The voice of Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov is heard once again in our public life, emigre writers are published as are Pilnyak and Orwell, Arvo Pyart's music is performed, American political scientist Rein Taagepera [spelling uncertain] speaks before mass audiences, historian and political scientist Roy Medvedev is published widely and we see founders of the journal METROPOL on television. These have been heart-warming changes.

Today, we openly discuss issues that only yesterday seemed almost an ideological sabotage. The true meaning of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact is coming to light, as well as its role in the fate of the Baltic republics. The "Memorial" society is being set up. The causes of inflation in this country are being analyzed. And so on and so forth—we have purposefully used examples from very different areas.

And yet...

In today's political life in Estonia there are different social forces, organizations and movements. The People's Front and the Intermovement are widely known. But what is the Estonian Christian Union? Or the Forum of Independent Young People? Or the Tallinn Independent Detachment? Or Independent Info? Where can one learn more about them, or at least find out what is what, who supports what or what ideas they advocate? No such information is available in the press.

Our newspaper, having heard many such questions at our meetings with readers, decided to talk about them with an expert, and with one who sees them with an unprejudiced eye. In other words, we want to give our readers food for thought—and we suggest that you view this article in this key, and not immediately run for pen and paper to expose evil journalists who purposefully offer the stage to the propaganda of ideas that are "foreign to us". Let those ideas speak for themselves. Our aim is to provide information and thereby put an end to wild rumors.

Thus, we are being led into terra incognita—the unexplored land of extremist unofficial movements.

[Valk] "But why did you choose me for this purpose?" asked political cartoonist, member of the People's Front's leadership Kheynts Valk.

[Kekelidze] Precisely because you are known as a man of extremely radical views, whose speeches and cartoons have elicited a very disparate reaction among our readers. Thus, we will not be accused of wanting to provide an a priori prejudiced picture of those movements, societies, detachments and even one party. Do you agree?

[Valk] I do, in general, on the condition that everything I say will be considered as my own personal opinion, not that of the People's Front, even though I am a member of its leadership. The opinion of the People's Front is known from our programs, resolutions and other documents. I will speak only for myself. Do you agree?

[Kekelidze] Yes.

[Valk] Let us start with a look at those who are generally regarded as extremists. On one side, we have the Party of Estonian National Independence, on the other the Intermovement. But in my opinion it is an artificial and inexact division. For some reason, it is thought that the extremes must be defined and in today's situation they are defined by those two movements.

[Kekelidze] Can you be more specific? Namely, why are those two movements placed at the opposite ends of the spectrum using the same criteria?

[Valk] I disagree. In my opinion, the Intermovement is more the opposite of the People's Front, not of the independence party. This is clear from the fact that the Intermovement has been opposed to every one of our major undertakings of late: the decisions of the November 16 session, the law on language and everything else that the People's Front proposes and the people of Estonia supports. I have recently read a protest against the law on language sent by the Intermovement's coordinating committee all over the country. In my opinion, it is full of errors, if not outright lies, to put it more bluntly. It is bad form; in political debates one must play by the rules: one must not treat facts in a way that they cease being facts. In my opinion, it is the Intermovement's mistake and by committing it they have brought harsh criticism upon themselves. They call for unity to jointly fight for perestroyka, but whenever we talk about concrete issues they break the rules. All their actions show that they defend perestroyka only in words, whereas in practice they are trying to preserve the status quo, or the situation that was created in Estonia during Stalinism and then persisted during the period of stagnation. I conclude that certain forces are behind them (I do not know what kind of forces and where they are based: here in Tallinn, in Narva, in Moscow or elsewhere; I do not have exact information) that dislike the rapid progress of perestroyka in Estonia.

[Kekelidze] For the sake of objectivity we should note that the People's Front, too, does not mince words in its attacks on the Intermovement. I agree with one requirement of the status quo: all persons regardless of nationality and native tongue should have equal rights.

[Valk] Who argues with this? Not even the independence party has ever said or written that some people are above others.

[Kekelidze] This means that there is at least some common ground. I think you agree that no one knows how to speak to an opponent. The "Motleme veel" show provides clear evidence of this: people who hold similar views quickly convince one another, whereas during two opponents' debates their respective arguments fly by as though they do not hear one another.

[Valk] Yes, it is a pity. This is the result of the low level of our political culture, since for almost half a century people were not involved in politics. We have no democratic culture. Opposition is a normal condition in a society. We must learn to hear out the opponent and try to understand him: why he says what he does and what is behind him. Yet, no matter how much I think about it, I still can not understand the Intermovement's slogan: "The People's Front Is an Impediment to Perestroyka". How can I debate them if I do not understand their thought process?

[Kekelidze] Hence, it seems that there was a need to meet with them and to clear out the situation. Have you tried to meet with them?

[Valk] I personally have not. The People's Front has met with them, but nothing came out of those discussions. The People's Front has its own shortcomings, it can be criticized and so forth. Yet, I can not agree with the statement that the People's Front impedes perestroyka.

Nor can I accept the slogan I heard at one Intermovement rally; I can not remember it exactly, but its meaning was that the EsSSR Communist Party's Central Committee is practically an enemy of perestroyka. How can I agree that our Central Committee which is now so ardently supported by the people prefers stagnation, not perestroyka? How can we talk to them? Why does the Intermovement oppose everything the Estonian people supports?

[Kekelidze] Your opinion about this end of the spectrum is clear. Should we move on to the other one?

[Valk] Right. In general, I must say that extremist groups are rather small. Apparently, only some 500 people came to the last Intermovement rally, and many did so just to listen. The independence party, according to the latest count, has just 200 members.

[Kekelidze] What are other extremist parties?

[Valk] I do not know any other ones.

[Kekelidze] And what about the leaders of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments?

[Valk] I can not call it an extremist movement.

[Kekelidze] Who does Independent Info represent?

[Valk] I think it represents a very large group of young people, mainly students and young intelligentsia.

[Kekelidze] And what about the Vyruskaya [meaning unknown] Column? Can they be considered extremist?

[Valk] I do not think so.

[Kekelidze] The Estonian Christian Union, apparently, is not extremist at all. It can probably be considered a simple clerical party.

[Valk] True, they are not extremists.

[Kekelidze] And what about the Tallinn Independent Detachment or the Forum of Independent Young People?

[Valk] The Forum is the thing same as Info. Where do you get your information?

[Kekelidze] From Independent Info's announcements, which I regularly read in the hall of the Polytechnic Institute. I also read there a bulletin on the War of Liberation of 1918, which I found on the bulletin board of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

[Valk] In my opinion, youth movements are not extremist. They are radical, much more radical than the People's Front, but they are not extremist. They criticize both the People's Front and the Intermovement.

[Kekelidze] Perhaps you would like to describe them and thus we will see an area of the political map.

[Valk] Fine. But my information about youth movements is limited: I personally have no contact with them and know only what I have read about them in the press.

The problem is that the People's Front includes mainly people of my generation, those who are 40-50 years of age. The Youth Forum, as I have already mentioned, attracts students and young intelligentsia. They were dissatisfied with the People's Front's program, feeling that the People's Front defers excessively to the old bureaucracy linked to the party, and to the party itself. The first meeting of the Forum of Independent Young People was very informal; they did not come up with any document—neither a program nor a resolution.

[Kekelidze] Indeed?

[Valk] There was nothing in the summer, only in the fall. I think that it is typical of young people, they have many different aspirations and I understand them well. I remember myself as a student, our dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy and criticism of the authorities. It is the same the world over: students are always radical, they represent a whole range of views, but they are heterogeneous, not united. I can not describe the unified platform of the Forum as there is none; there were numerous speeches, some of which contradicted one another. Yet, some aspects of it appeal to me. First of all, they oppose militarization of the society, and whether we wish to acknowledge it or not, our society is highly militarized and from day care centers on children are subjected to military patriotic education which continues through high school and college. Military service is no joy either: some people do not return to their colleges afterwards or do not apply to college. This primarily harms our economy: at positions requiring knowledge and responsibility we increasingly find women rather than men. The republic's higher education institutions are women-dominated, with women comprising much more than half of all students. This negatively impacts social development and everyone should understand this. It can not go on like this. There should be more men in the technical intelligentsia and among teachers: the feminization of general school is also verging on a disaster.

I support the Forum of Independent Young People in their hatred for militarism. The authorities's comments about them, however, are uniformly negative: they have not yet understood the danger of feminization.

Another aspect is the fact that our society has done very little for the human spirit. Generations of stone-hearted bureaucrats have grown up under slogans proclaiming the good of the people and communist morality. This is why young people now feel that they should rely more on religion. Religion has existed for several thousand years, and the human race has always turned to it under different guises and for many reasons. To claim today that religion is opium for the people is simply ridiculous. Religion has great human values, which we at one time discarded but now they are coming back into our lives. All major religions (I do not know anything about minor ones), have high ethical standards and it is their main positive role in the society. Why not use religion to restore the lost ethical standards? I am not a believer, for instance, and do not go to church, but I acknowledge the great role that the church played in the past of both Russia and Estonia. This is valuable.

The soul of young people is too dry; they have seen nothing but lies everywhere and the concealment of truth. They reacted sharply to it. This the reason why they have turned to religion.

This aspect of the Forum's views has also been harshly criticized. As for the rest, everything is in order: they support self-financing and republican sovereignty. I see nothing extremist in them. True, they had slogans calling for Estonia's secession from the Soviet Union, but similar slogans have been proposed by adults as well; such slogans persist and there is a reason for them, too, as they did not appear out of nothing. Yet, only a minority advocates that, and they are not what counts.

[Kekelidze] Excuses me, but there has also been a call "to arms to the last", is it not so?

[Valk] It was a call coming from individuals, not even groups but individual "tulepead" [spelling?], or hot heads. I admit, calls to fight for Estonia's freedom weapons in hand and to the end have been voiced. Yet, those are individual voices and not the general opinion. We can not bring this charge against the Forum as a whole.

Their latest meeting discussed the cultural level of the human being—not education but the cultural level (we have too many uncultured people). This is appealing: the cultural level depends on them, not just on school or college. Self-education is a great thing.

[Kekelidze] But you must agree that sometimes one hears really outrageous comments against those who live side by side with them.

[Valk] Yes, it happens, but conclusions about all Estonian young people can not be drawn based on this fact. These are statements made by individuals, not the Forum as a whole. It is their personal opinion. Young people have always been hot-headed: they want to see progress tomorrow, not in 10 years.

After all, we should always remember that these are young people. They should not be compared to adults. It is one thing when students speak, and another when the People's Front does.

[Kekelidze] And what about when they resort to plain hooliganism?

[Valk] As far as the Vyruskaya Independent Column is concerned, it is the result of the fact that your youth organizations, especially komsomol, have become bureaucratized and completely lost touch with life. I recall my own komsomol years: nothing appealing or positive, just boring meetings at which empty words were spoken.

[Kekelidze] This was when?

[Valk] In the 1950s. There was nothing but meetings and political education. The Vyruskaya Column arose in that vacuum. Artists' Unions and the People's Front appeal to adults, but young people also want to find their own place in perestroyka. They have begun to search for it themselves; it is a positive sign and it should be appreciated. But I have very little knowledge of it. I have read in the newspaper the statement of their leader where he criticized the People's Front from the same positions as the Forum's. As to rumors, I do not want to discuss them since I can not check whether or not they are true.

[Kekelidze] Was there information in statements by Independent Info?

[Valk] I have not read them.

[Kekelidze] Well, should we now talk about the Party of Estonian National Independence?

[Valk] This party came out of the MRP-AEG [expansion unknown] group. Their program is very precise: an independent Estonia separate from the Soviet Union. They adhere to this line honestly and firmly, using only legal methods and no illegal ones: no secret leaflets, no secret actions, but only constitutional rights and methods. I think that they should be respected for their courage: only recently such statements led to prison. It requires bravery, to follow this path knowing that they could share the fate of the "Karabakh" committee. Perestroyka notwithstanding, the bureaucracy still holds the power.

[Kekelidze] Are calls against the existing state system not anti-constitutional propaganda?

[Valk] No, it is not anti-constitutional. On the contrary, the constitution gives every republic the right to secede. Consequently, to discuss this possibility is not anti-constitutional propaganda.

[Kekelidze] Is this the opinion of the People's Front?

[Valk] I am speaking as a private individual.

[Kekelidze] I hope that you admit that other people may view secession from the Soviet Union differently?

[Valk] Every Soviet citizen has the right to discuss this issue respectably and politely. If we want our society to be fully democratic, we must agree to the existence of a party that constantly needles the bureaucracy and keeps it from falling asleep.

[Kekelidze] Can you imagine a bulletin board in the center of Tallinn calling for a strengthening of the centralized power of the state?

[Valk] Of course, I have nothing against it. I would like the Intermovement to have its own bulletin board and even its own newspaper, and the Party of Estonian National Independence should have one, too. Let them express themselves freely. I even think that if the Intermovement had a greater access to the press it would have lost many of its supporters—precisely because their slogans are in such bad taste.

[Kekelidze] Do you know that every speech by Trevimi Velliste and, excuse me, every one of your speeches bring many supporters to the Intermovement that you hate so much.

[Valk] Maybe not every one of my speeches does that, but some probably do. I speak often, and not always with the same slogans. As to Trevimi Velliste, the work of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments is very important. It returns to us the history that has been excoriated from our memory by Stalinism. When I was at school, we did not have a single class in the history of Estonia. This was the case for several generations. All textbooks were destroyed, all books on the history of Estonia were destroyed and if such a book was found, its owner was guaranteed 25 years of Siberia. It is a miracle that we have survived as a nation, as Estonians. To

deprive a nation of its memory is a sure way to destroy it. Such policy was carried out here by both fascists and stalinists and Estonians see no great difference between them in this respect.

In short, the society does great work. Some see their work as nationalistic. So what? Let them see it as such. The nationalism of a small nation is self-defense, we are forced onto this path. I do not want to recall what used to be done to us. In all of the postwar period we are yet to reach the level of Estonian population of bourgeois Estonia. The reason for this is hopelessness and fear for the future. We were the people without a future; they wanted to gradually turn us into Russians. That was the open policy of the bureaucracy. This is why we now hear various extremist statements, mainly made by individuals and not by groups—I think it is a normal situation.

[Kekelidze] Do you think it is normal when Russians, or rather Russian-speaking people, are subjected to a flood of insults and generalizations? They can be found in newspapers, on radio and on television.

[Valk] Flood is too strong a word. When a person defends himself he sometimes falls into extremes. You must understand the tragic fate of our small nation. If only Russians were told more about our history and what a destroyed homestead means for an Estonian. The very word, Estonians, could not be used in the press, on radio or on television. We had to say local or indigenous population. The number of Estonians in Estonia is declining.

Recalling burned down libraries, destroyed homesteads, broken lives, exiled families—the entire stalinist legacy—how can we be restrained and calm and have a grateful smile for everything that was done here? So you must know our history. Those who migrated to Estonia do not feel the suffering of the people as much as we do. It is natural, since one's own pain hurts strongest. We all feel the tragedy of Armenia, but Armenians feel it most acutely: imagine how those who lost their families suffer. The newcomers must try to understand our pain and our history. If you knew it, you would not think a party of Estonian independence or the statements of some young people or the Vyruskaya Column were extremist. And neither my speeches nor Trevimi Velliste's statements would seem as radical as they are presented.

[Kekelidze] We understand the pain of the Estonian people very well and share its concern over the future; we have suffered from the stalinist system and oppose the administrative system as much as you do. Estonians are not the only ones who have human and national pride. Tell me, why have you decided that we must silently listen to everything you say? Even on television there has already been a warning: let us not forget that many Russians understand Estonian, so let us be more careful about what we say. Or here for instance is the opinion expressed by respectable E.Savisaar in a speech at a political gathering on December 22: the Russian population, which was ready to go along with us in May, lost its head completely in the fall and is ready to believe the wildest rumors and inventions. One would think that the Russian population is blind and deaf-mute and is unable to form its own opinion. What inventions are they talking about; let us recall just one simple example: no single meeting, congress or forum of the People's Front or any other movement has ever been picketed, but the People's Front chose to picket the founding conference of the Joint Council of Labor Collectives (JCLC). And the slogans were also quite eloquent.

[Valk] I know no details about the picketing, but you must agree that we had to defend ourselves: the JCLC wanted to get involved in politics, not just economics.

[Kekelidze] Yet, the leadership of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments concerns itself purely with politics and tries to influence public opinion. If the JCLC declares that it acts in the interests of the republic, why should they be rejected out of hand?

[Valk] To be honest, I think that they just hide behind IME [republic-wide economic accounting]. I do not see any use for Estonia in their documents. First we must see where we would arrive with the JCLC's help, and then worry about supporting them.

[Kekelidze] Yet, we all talk of consolidation and understand that it is the only way out of the existing situation. If we want results, can we dispense so freely with allies—in deeds, not in words?

[Valk] The People's Front has never called for it. Our documents state the exact opposite.

[Kekelidze] But you must agree that it looks strange when a movement's documents state one thing while unofficially, as a personal opinion, very different views are being expressed. What do we have here, a moral double standard all over again? The same double standard which we, too, oppose, and of whose legacy we are trying to rid ourselves? Such situations unfortunately produce distrust.

[Valk] The early stages of every new undertaking are always extremely difficult. There are errors, of course, and they will persist. But the most important task is to find the natural path toward further development and not to resort to force and bans.

[Kekelidze] I agree, but I must insist that we should keep our eyes open.

Divisions Among Latvian Movements Viewed
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[Report by special correspondents O. Meshkov and A. Chernenko: "The Boundary Strip: Reflections on Civil Movements in Latvia"]

[Text] Riga—The political situation in Latvia today is complex. It is impossible to "ignore" it, draw a veil over it, or, moreover, embellish all its contradictory nuances in the guise of restructuring. This is because the confrontation between different civil currents in Latvia is a real phenomenon requiring a principled study.

All this sprang to mind last Thursday in Riga, where two waves of people intersected. They thronged literally side by side, placards and banners fluttering over their heads. How passionate was the desire to see them merge into a single stream! But it was as if someone had plowed a cruel boundary strip between the people.

It could not be otherwise when some people—in the International Movement columns—were carrying slogans calling for the unity of all nations living in Latvia, while others hurled provocative labels at them—"immigrants," "occupiers"....

...Two hours earlier we were sitting in the "headquarters" of the Latvian People's Front [LPF], noting down the main avenues of the movement's program. Our interlocutors—Yanis Shkapars, member of the LPF Duma Board; Sandra Kalniyete, executive secretary of the board; and Sarmite Elerte, leader of the information center—were enumerating the problems facing the movement in the first instance.

One word dominated the conversation—struggle. Struggle against what? Against the aggressive economy of the center, based on the ill-considered importation into the republic of manpower that absorbs the Latvian people into itself. For the status of the Latvian language. For the creation of an economic model that would allow the republic to redesignate its sectors, giving priority to the traditional sectors. For the preservation of the ecological balance of the environment, social justice, and the preservation of the Latvian ethnos. Struggle, struggle, struggle...

Frankly speaking, we learned nothing new from the conversation. All these problems are also being tackled by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which emphasizes its desire to cooperate with "sensible minds" from the LPF. To be fair, let us note that these joint efforts in the spiritual sphere have already yielded certain benefits. These are good signs that restructuring is putting down deeper and deeper roots. But what are the results of cooperation in the practical sphere?

Yes, you can talk about an awakening of social consciousness. The activation of spiritual life, other important aspects... But all the same, let us come down to earth for a moment. Let us turn to real problems. For instance, one of the republic's most acute social problems today is the dire shortage of housing.

Basically Latvia, and in particular its capital, failed on all the housing construction plans. People have been waiting for apartments since 1956, many of them have grown old without experiencing the joy of moving in. You can blame stagnation or the deformed economy, which brought many outsiders into Latvia. But today you would expect everyone to set about tackling this most urgent problem together. There is plenty of scope here for the most active social creativity. Especially since the LPF and other social organizations, in their declarations, claim to seek the resolution of social problems.

We looked in at the Riga No 1 House Building Combine, which is led by Zigurd Mezhulis, an authoritative, experienced organizer of construction affairs.

"Yes, the housing industry is limping. There are a whole range of reasons—objective and subjective. For instance, we are having to restructure our technology literally as we go along. But because of the complex political situation we could begin to limp even worse—something as sensitive as the organization of production is bound to suffer."

[Interviewers] "Even though the leaders of the LPF or International Movement have offered you their help? After all, some very experienced cadres are concentrated there—economists, engineers, competent experts...."

[Mezhulis] "No. We have not yet had any businesslike contacts. At the moment, studies are taking place at a purely theoretical level."

In the meantime the first, far from polite battles are taking place in the arena of housing problems. "Indigenous Riga dwellers" have just taken possession of apartment blocks for small families on Tereshkova Street. This conflict instantly acquired an unhealthy ethnic coloring because the housing was intended for construction workers, whom Latvia needs, and they are mainly newcomers. From there, it snowballed: Some complain about uncontrolled "immigration," others about "discrimination." A trivial case, on the scale of our vast state. But that does not make it any less dramatic. This is because there are so many essentially similar clashes, based, let us emphasize, on purely economic issues or matters of daily life, that they sometimes develop into an absurd confrontation.

It is no secret in the Baltic region that it is primarily Latvians who have gathered under the LPF's auspices, while the non-Latvian population is in the International Movement. Their numerical strength is approximately the same. So is the number of their supporters. However

much we may now curse Stalinism, voluntarism, and the aggressive, deformed economic policy of stagnation, which led to the disproportionate influx of forces from other regions of the country, realities are realities. You have to build on them, while taking into account the full range of interethnic interests.

The political task of the day is consolidation. Yet the collaboration in the struggle for restructuring that the LPF leaders spoke of so loudly only a couple of months back is not happening, either on a practical basis, as we have seen, or on a political basis. Precisely the opposite is happening: In defending Latvia's undisputed rights to economic autonomy and such unquestioned national assets as language, culture, traditions, and customs, the LPF has apparently "forgotten" that the republic has a highly multinational community. Many people, deprived for a long time of the opportunity to conduct a broad debate, are extremely touchy about even the most constructive LPF ideas. The priority given to "one-way" glasnost could not fail to cause a certain reaction in them. This is only natural: When you are a former front-line soldier who stayed behind to live in Latvia after its liberation from Hitlerism, when you are a cadre worker whose hands were needed for the republic's restoration, and they point to you as the culprit responsible for all evils, as some kind of demographic ballast, you cannot help constructing whatever means of self-defense are available to you. This usually means a mirror image of your opponents' actions. The impressive demonstration to mark the anniversary of the Soviet Army, which brought together tens of thousands of workers of non-Latvian nationality, showed this clearly. The International Movement was in effect imitating one of the LPF's original methods—rallies.

The columns marched and marched, banners fluttered over their heads, while nearby young people stood holding banners bearing different slogans, the most "innocuous" of which was the word "occupiers." And, let us repeat, it was unbearably distressing to see this mighty emotional charge, this precious human energy, for want of consolidation on a practical basis, dissipating, so to speak, in political steam. This will not produce any more apartments, food, or consumer goods....

How did all this come about? There are many reasons. But first and foremost, in our view, we must talk about the party committees and the fact that very many of their apparently dynamic efforts are rather... amorphous.

The main fuss broke out about a month ago, after the publication of the draft law on the status of the Latvian language. No one doubts that it vitally needs this status. But what about the significant proportion of non-Latvian population? The published draft law on language is, in the opinion of non-Latvians, of a "discriminatory nature" and creates serious difficulties in obtaining promotion at work or in the children's acquisition of professions or higher education. The idea of different "classes" has appeared in people's minds, an idea that, in their opinion, is offensive and belittling to human dignity.

Let us explain again: The International Movement does not have its own publication to this day, and lacks any broad opportunity for debates on this subject. The press published only one draft of the law, incorporating mainly the ideas put forward by LPF members. Given such a complex ethnic structure, you would have thought an alternative draft was possible. Or at least the party press and television should have offered wider opportunities for discussions on a democratic basis. The LPF leaders too should really do some constructive work to popularize and explain their own ideas and the law's future operation.

"True, we did not do enough work here," Yanis Shkapars, member of the LPF Duma Board, agrees.

But if the LPF leadership "did not do enough work," the party committees could have predicted that a highly ambivalent situation will arise if some people have the opportunity to say anything they like, even down to the idealization, by some people, of the bourgeois system and the Ulmanis regime, while others are condemned to semisilence. And who?! Veterans who devoted their lives to the Soviet Army and the liberation of Europe from the fascist plague, the working class who speak "other languages," whose labor did so much in the republic....

It would be wrong to think that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee is trying somehow to gloss over the situation. No, they are in full possession of the information, they clearly see the distribution of forces, and propagandist formulations of a fairly high standard are available. A decision has been adopted, for instance, on creating an Interfront [as published; International Front—equivalent in other Baltic republics of Latvia's International Movement] press publication, which will undoubtedly remove the "information tension." The decision to make public the materials of the 1959 Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, at which serious deviations from democracy were perpetrated in the guise of the struggle against nationalism, must be regarded as a bold political act. It is the republic Communist Party that is ultimately formulating the ideas of republican economic accountability.

But for all this complex, innovative work, real gaps have appeared specifically in the sphere of direct communication with people. Last Thursday it was strange to see the explosion of passions entirely in the service of, on the one hand, the International Movement, and on the other, the organizers of provocative protests reviling the Soviet Army and sowing ethnic discord.

It is painful to note that not one party leader risked taking to the streets and entering into an open debate with the disoriented, immature young people. Central

Committee and party gorkom workers did not deem it necessary to speak at a rally of many thousands of people organized on Victory Square by the council of army veterans and the International Movement. Yet the rally was announced beforehand and it could have been predicted that a great many people would gather. How can you fail to use this event for communicating with people and expressing the party view of the serious problems disturbing the republic, which were discussed so emotionally at the rally? How else, in the end, can you uphold the party's prestige?

Is not this why some people in Latvia (and in a number of other regions too) can easily lay claim to have originated restructuring innovations and claim for their own the fruits of the tremendous creative work done by Communists and nonparty supporters of restructuring? What are the real, not stated, purposes of these "radicals"; what could be the consequences of their actions tomorrow?

Instead of packages of global formulations and concepts, party committees should develop the tactics of bold, open political actions. Experience shows that the real rallying of all the healthy forces of restructuring only happens where the party committee does not take a back seat, where it emerges boldly into the arena of political debate.

...Another case causes concern. On the eve of 23 February People's Front leaders officially dissociated themselves from any actions by immature people. Moreover, they called on all their members to refrain from speaking. But that proves convincingly that an "impulsive" group has already split off from one wing and is operating autonomously, independently of it, without recognizing any authority. It would be naive to assume that the "worst" they can do is to brandish placards showing dragons with the caption "USSR" and a tortoise called "KGB." Matters are more serious, because the very real little dragons of destabilization, open provocations, and anti-Sovietism are digging their claws into Riga's living flesh. This no longer has anything to do with the "radical democratization" proclaimed by the LPF or with restructuring.

This only diverts people's spiritual and physical energy from the resolution of the vitally important problems that have accumulated in the sphere of the economy and social life.

This is where the fate of restructuring and the future of all our plans for the democratization of society are decided. It is time we all realized something else, too: The period of rally democracy should increasingly give way to the democracy of construction. The heat of passions and emotions, sometimes artifically fanned, is not sufficient in itself to plow the land, bake bread, smelt steel, and build houses....

Latvian Delegates 'Outraged' at 'Unethical Conduct'
PM0803113189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Letter from 12 readers under the rubric "Readers' Opinion": "Using Pluralism as a Cover"]

[Text] We participants in the election meeting in No 706 Leninskiy territorial okrug, representing Yurmala labor collectives and voters, are utterly outraged at the behavior at that meeting of a representative of our city, M. Mikelsone, deputy editor of the newspaper YURMALA, and even more so at her article entitled "Who Voted For Me?" (YURMALA 23 February 1989), in which she essentially accused the meeting participants, the okrug electoral commission, and the candidates for USSR people's deputy nominated for this okrug of unscrupulousness.

First, M. Mikelsone perceived foul play in the fact that the representatives of labor collectives and voters entering the hall had to walk past an "honor guard" (the term and the quotation marks belong to the author of the article). It had not occurred to her, of course, that a check at the door was necessary (the same thing happened also in other okrugs at similar meetings) in order to secure places first for the legitimate participants in the meeting, after which those who simply wanted to attend could be admitted.

Second, M. Mikelsone categorically states in her article, with reference to the candidates, that "three of them withdrew their candidacies in favor of F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District." It is true that in accordance with the Law on Elections it would have been entirely within their rights to act in this way—that is, in favor of their rival. However, in the given case they gave completely different reasons for their withdrawal. Nor was it of decisive importance. The meeting still had seven candidates among whom to decide.

But to proceed. By decision of a secret ballot F. Kuzmin emerged as the sole candidate for the No 706 okrug. M. Mikelsone sums up: "It would seem that in view of the stormy nature of the meeting and the fact that a considerable section of the delegates were of a different opinion, a conscientious person would not have agreed to be registered as the sole candidate. But that is just in passing...." However, a direct conclusion follows from this incidental remark: The deputy editor of the newspaper YURMALA is calling F. Kuzmin's conscience into question, even though the district commander was availing himself of a **right** granted him by law. Alas, this argument of M. Mikelsone's does not hold water either.

Incidentally, the author of the article believes that you can get by without arguments. For instance, she claims that F. Kuzmin, having lived in Latvia only a few months, does not have a moral right to take decisions on the fate of Latvia and its people.

M. Mikelsone's article ends as follows: "What we need today are people who command moral authority. Only they, rather than those who possess real power, can be trusted by the people." We have no doubts about the value of moral authority. But the article is referring to a specific person. And so it follows that F. Kuzmin is essentially being accused of unethical conduct. And that is slander, pure and simple, even though it is veiled as pluralism of opinions.

Now it is time to describe how M. Mikelsone behaved at the okrug meeting. We representatives of Yurmala were ashamed of her, not just as a person but also as an ideological worker called upon to educate others. Especially since representatives of Riga's Leninskiy and Leningradskiy Rayons were taking part in the meeting—these rayons are part of the No 706 territorial okrug. Without asking permission from the meeting presidium, she was shouting questions from the floor and making a spectacle of her indignation. She failed to take part in the vote "because she was not paying attention," and at the same time she cast aspersions on representatives who came late but managed to vote nonetheless.

Pluralism of opinions has become a generally accepted norm in conditions of glasnost. However, it does not allow for unethical conduct in expressing one's opinion, not to mention insulting human dignity. This is our firm opinion! What is yours, esteemed editor of the newspaper YURMALA and comrades at the Yurmala party gorkom and gorispolkom, whose organ the newspaper YURMALA is?
[Signed] M. Moshkov, M. Korolev, I. Shapovalov, I. Zakharov, and others, 12 in all.

Postscript: We originally sent this letter to the newspaper YURMALA, but its editor Z. Dzedulis declared that he refused to publish it.
[Signed] The authors of the letter.

Latvian Factories Charged for Imported Labor

LD0203205389 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Latvia has introduced strict rules in order to stop the extensive immigration from the rest of the Soviet Union. Difficult economic sanctions will apply to factories which in the future want to import labor into Latvia. Here is Anders Eriksson in Helsinki:

[Eriksson] The new regulations mean that factories which want to employ persons living outside Latvia will have to pay high charges. The all-union factories in Riga will be forced to pay R25,000 per person employed; this corresponds roughly to seven annual salaries. Factories in other large towns and in rural areas will have to pay somewhat less. Moreover, the money is to be taken out of the factories' social funds, that is from the money which really should be used for personal health care and leisure activities. The reason for this is naturally that those already employed at the enterprise should oppose the continued import of labor. The workers hostels, which have been set up to accommodate guest workers from the rest of the Soviet Union, will also be closed, according to information received by this program. Supervision is also to be tightened so that the new laws are strictly observed.

Several of the all-union enterprises in Latvia have recently imported more and more workers as they have foreseen the coming stricter rules. Last year immigration to Lativa form the rest of the Soviet Union increased by some 10,000 people. The leaders of the People's Front have therefore demanded quick measures to prevent the immigration, and the new laws, which have already come into effect, are to be seen against this background. Immigration to Latvia has accelerated during the past few years, and today Latvians comprise only about half of the total population in Latvia. The other half consists of immigrant nationalities, above all Russians.

Latvia Considers Population-Control Measures

PM0103141189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At the scheduled session of the republic's council of ministers presidium the following questions were examined:

Measures to stop the unwarranted mechanical increase in the population and to regulate the processes of migration to the Latvian SSR;

Introducing Latvian SSR territorial time in accordance with its geographic zone;

Increasing the role of cooperatives and of persons involved in individual labor activity in supplying the population with more goods;

Breaches in the construction and use of hostels by Gosstroy in Riga.

The first question on the agenda was examined at a joint session of the republic's council of ministers presidium and the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council Presidium. For the first time it was difficult to accommodate in the presidium sessions hall all those invited, among whom were representatives of the Latvian People's Front, the International Movement of Latvian SSR Working People, the press, television and radio.

The interest in the resolution adopted by the government is understandable. The increase in the republic's population in 1971 through 1988 was almost double the natural growth. The mechanical increase coefficient for the Latvian SSR was the highest among the union republics.

This was a consequence of the fact that the number of people working at enterprises and the creation of new jobs were planned without appropriate coordination with the labor resources available in the republic. The territorial breakdown of the labor resources did not correspond to their function. In this situation many economic leaders did not gear themselves toward the intensive path of development on the base of retooling production and the introduction of new technologies. Insufficient attention was devoted to improving workers' labor and living conditions, which led to a high turnover of cadres and the erosion of labor discipline.

Work force recruitment was basically done through the unwarranted enlistment of manpower from the republic's rural areas and other regions of the country also experiencing a stressed labor resource situation. The high mechanical increase in the population led to the overloading of the social infrastructure and complicated the provision of housing and foodstuffs to the population, and it meant that medical, municipal and consumer, and transport services for people deteriorated.

Taking into account the fact that most of the republic's inhabitants, as well as delegates to the Latvian SSR Peoples Forum, advocated halting the unwarranted mechanical growth rate and regulating the processes of migration into the republic, the republic's council of ministers presidium jointly with the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council Presidium examined a draft resolution submitted on this question

Twenty-four people made observations and proposals during the debate. D.E. Ivans—Latvian People's Front—and A.K. Belaychuk—International Movement of Latvian SSR Working People—were among the first to speak. Professor Ya.P. Poriyetis, in particular, noted with satisfaction that he saw no essential contradictions between the stances of the Latvian People's Front and the International Movement on this question.

Despite the fact that in some speeches proposals were repeatedly heard for the draft resolution to be opened up for general discussion, along with warnings of a perceptible reduction in production and construction volumes in connection with halting the population's mechanical growth rate, the republic's government adopted a resolution on this question which took account of the proposals and observations expressed.

It emphasized in particular that enterprises and organizations located on Latvian SSR territory do not have the right to enlist additional manpower. Only rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms can give permission for this. In such an event the resolution envisages as one radical measure the introduction for all enterprises and organizations, regardless of their departmental allegiance, of a mandatory differential contribution into a nonbudget account administered by the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms for each worker newly taken on and for the members of his family. This contribution, ranging from R15,000 for republic rayons to R25,000 for Riga City, is payable both for a worker coming from outside the republic as well as for those who go to work from other rayons and cities in the republic, and for members of their families. The funds transferred go to the development of the social infrastructure and housing construction, and to the implementation of the food program.

A payment for each worker retained above the established numerical limit has also been introduced throughout Latvian SSR territory. Ministries and departments are instructed to formulate as soon as possible a program to close bed-sitter hostels and convert them into hotels or apartments—with the exception of educational establishment hostels. Registration of citizens without actual provision of housing for them is forbidden. It is planned systematically to publish in the press information on the population's current migration.

The republic council of ministers presidium approved a proposal on introducing Latvian SSR territorial time in accordance with its time zone and submitted a request to the USSR Council of Ministers to examine the question of establishing zonal time on Latvian SSR territory, starting with the switch to summer time at the end of March this year.

As V.N. Chevachin, chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, reported, the more than 17,000 letters received by the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems as of 13 February are enough for this decision to be adopted.

The discussion of the role of cooperatives in more fully supplying the population with goods developed into a constructive and intense exchange. Each of the 18 people who spoke on this question voiced his proposals, observations, and warnings. The conclusion from everything that was said is that ispolkoms should maintain a constant dialogue with the cooperatives and monitor the areas of their activity. As yet cooperatives are doing extremely little to satisfy the needs of the republic's population. If they do not come into conflict with the law (and this does happen), they represent tangible competition to the trading and procurement organizations whose sluggishness continues to hamper the market's saturation with all kinds of goods.

It was noted with alarm, for example, that the unsupervised activity of cooperatives is damaging the republic's economy and aggravating the consequences of the black economy. Many accusations were leveled at ispolkoms which do not conclude contracts with a cooperative on ratifying its status, do not coordinate cooperatives' trade in commodities, and fail to monitor their financial activity. The speakers also said that associations and unions of cooperatives are needed, and that the time has come for the introduction of a progressive tax. At the same time unwarranted prohibitory motivations must not prevail.

The resolution adopted on this question contains a number of measures directed at boosting the role of cooperatives in the fuller supply of goods to the population.

The presidium of the republic's council of ministers also examined breaches in the construction and utilization of hostels by Gosstroy in Riga.

M.A. Kopach, chief of Gosstroy's cadres and living conditions administration, was reprimanded for permitting gross breaches of the republic council of ministers resolutions to limit the number of hostels in Riga and the number of residents in them. The attention of A.P. Rubiks, chairman of Riga gorispolkom, and A.F. Meykalish, deputy chairman of Riga gorispolkom, was strictly drawn to the lack of monitoring of the fulfillment of government resolutions.

This question was examined in close connection with the resolution adopted on measures to stop the mechanical increase in the population, so their thrust is identical.

T.I. Savitskaya, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A.K. Zitmanis, chairman of the Latvian Republic Trade Union Council, took part in the session of the republic council of ministers presidium.

Latvian Newsmen Discuss Glasnost Shortcomings

PM2402125089 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 18 Feb 89 p 5

[Juris Kaza dispatch: "Latvian Journalists in Constant Struggle for Glasnost"]

[Text] Riga—Over 700 Latvian journalists gathered when the Latvian Journalists Union held an extraordinary meeting in early February. Ironically enough, one of the most controversial documents proved to be the proofs of a page which did not make it into the People's Front weekly, ATMODA (AWAKENING).

The censor disliked a couple of articles from NATURE and the FINANCIAL TIMES which revealed that spent nuclear fuel and other waste is transported into and out of the Soviet Union through Riga for enrichment and storage.

"That's how much glasnost is worth," one journalist said bitterly. But in fact glasnost prevails as never before in the Latvian media, at the same time as an outsider quickly notices how the situation is characterized by total uncertainty and constant struggle.

"We are subjected to pressure the whole time," said Elita Veydemane, ATMODA chief editor, who always has to beg to be allowed to publish. Journalists report that today such excuses as shortage of paper and printing capacity have replaced the censor's blue pencil when it comes to blocking unwelcome ideas or keeping popular newspapers in check.

But in January Latvian Communist Party First Secretary Yanis Vagris, who said he was speaking on behalf of the entire Latvian Central Committee, could still call for determined measures to prevent extraparliamentary groups such as the "Helsinki 86" human rights group and the Latvian national independence movement.

He also said that newspapers such as AUSKELIS (MORNING STAR), whose editor recently visited Sweden, should be stopped because they spread "anti-Soviet" ideas.

Yuris Kayaks, one of the founders of Latvia's unofficial independent news agency (LATVNIA), said that he is allowed access to the government's news conferences and that his reports are sometimes quoted in the official press, despite the fact that he has named his news agency after one of the banned newspapers.

"Once we have been properly recognized, we intend to publish a news bulletin, but that will no doubt be when we run into the real problem, the shortage of paper," he said.

Journalists state that the authorities in Moscow have made use of an environmental conflict about the Sloka paper mill in Yurmala to try to split the Latvian press in its demands that the factory be closed.

"If you want to close Sloka, you won't get any more paper from us. That is what we have been told," a journalist said.

Much of the glasnost in the Latvian media concerns the Stalinist past, but with topical consequences for readers.

The same week as the journalists' extraordinary meeting took place, LITERATURE UN MAKSLA (LITERATURE AND ART) published an article about the frightening fate of the so-called French group. This was a group of actors, writers, and artists who were arrested, interrogated, and sent to Stalin's labor camps in the early fifties. The only thing they had in common was the fact that they met and discussed French literature and their trips and studies in Western Europe before the war.

The article accused the KGB of fabricating the whole thing and described how the suspects were subjected to interminable interrogations and other psychological torture.

Another unusual event in the Latvian media world took place when "Labvakar" ("Good Evening"), Latvia's most popular television show, recently held a live telephone interview with party Secretary Vagris' wife.

She proved to be a pleasant, intelligent, and warm-hearted woman who devotes herself to her grandchildren while her husband is for the most part away working. The same program broadcast a recorded interview with Yanis Vagris in which he was asked to explain whether he felt responsible for being an important Communist official during the "period of stagnation," that is, during the Brezhnev era. The 58-year-old party leader looked pained, but admitted that "one has to feel a certain responsibility."

Television reporter Edvins Inkens, who together with colleagues Oyars Rubens and Yanis Sipkeviks is among the most popular media personalities in Latvia, has also been the target of sharp attacks and pressure in the press to tone down his program style. But such tactics sometimes rebound.

Ivars Kezbers, a diplomat in Stockholm during the seventies and currently the party's chief ideologist, said at the journalists meeting that it was a "political mistake" to publish an anonymous letter from radio listeners in Latvian newspapers accusing Edvins Inkens of having had extensive contacts with Latvian exiles when he visited Canada and the United States last year. The letter contained several quotations from Voice of America's broadcasts on Inkens' visit.

With these words Ivars Kezbers, face to face with half of Latvia's journalists, revealed that from time to time the Central Committee makes use of material that can only come from one source (KGB radio monitoring) in order to publish anonymous articles with the aim of damaging the press or politicians.

But even though it is easier and simpler to write or produce broadcasts about previously forbidden subjects, Latvian journalism still finds itself at the level of the forties or fifties. Journalists' wages in Latvia can be compared with those in the Third World. The average wage is R140 per month, plus an extra R90 for free-lance articles in good periods.

Glasnost has made certain newspapers very profitable, but very little of this money gets back to the "courageous" journalists, since nearly all of Latvia's more than 100 newspapers are published by the Communist Party.

While reporters on Stockholm's dailies send their articles electronically to the editor's terminal, journalists in Riga—only a 35-minute flight from Stockholm—have to write their texts on typewriters dating from the thirties or forties. And technical aids like cassette recorders are the exception, while the journalists wear out their own cars on Latvia's poor roads in their search for material.

In Latvia the Journalists Union and the newspapers are supposed to help journalists find suitable homes. In practice, speakers at the meeting said, it is almost impossible for journalists who were not born in the towns in which they work—especially in Riga—to find apartments for themselves and their families.

Peteris Tabuns, who works for Latvian radio in Riga, told me that this is not so much the fault of the media as that of the housing department, and that this can only be described as some sort of organized immorality.

Tabuns said that the mass immigration of Russian workers and the privilege of retired Soviet officers to be able to live wherever they choose are the main reasons for the catastrophic shortage of homes and the chaos which reigns on the housing market.

Other things attracting attention in Latvia at present are journalists' conditions of employment. To fire a Swedish journalist who has not scandalously neglected his work requires a long procedure involving trade union organizations. However, on 19 July 1988 Velta Ayzupite, chairman of the Latvian radio and television committee, was able to read in the newspapers that she "was forced to give up her post for another responsible position." This was after 35 years in the job.

Today she is still without work and has received no explanation of why she was fired, according to radio journalist Yanis Briedis' speech to the journalists meeting.

Although the majority of those taking part in the meeting were Latvians, they did not hesitate to take up the case of a Russian editor of a factory newspaper who had been sacked. He had published a letter to the editor to highlight the degree of political ignorance of Russians in Latvia who do not understand Latvian and who cannot therefore understand the complicated political situation.

"There are many examples of journalists' total lack of rights," Ayvars Baumanis said. He is the highly respected Latvian head of the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI in Latvia.

Many speakers urged immediate steps to disband the Latvian Journalists Union, which is a section of the all-union Journalists Union, and replace it with a completely independent Latvian journalists association.

The journalists did not go quite as far as their Lithuanian colleagues, but they did vote to draft the statutes for such a totally independent organization. As Latvian People's Front Chairman Daynis Ivans, a journalist by profession, said:

"We need a declaration of rights—human and professional rights—so that we can have a free press in a free and independent Latvia."

Swedish Paper Cites Lithuania's 'Sajudis' Leaders
PM2802104689 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Feb 89 p 11

[Harald Hamrin dispatch: "Two Ideologies in Lithuania: People's Front Morality Versus Party Realism"]

[Text] Vilnius—"We are a moral force, we have helped to renew the face of power, we have helped people to become bolder," the Lithuanian people's front, Sajudis, says. But the party takes a different view: "Despite everything it is we who have the power and have to show responsibility, Sajudis is riding on a storm wave which it does not control," it says.

They stand on either side of an abyss, Sajudis and the Communist Party in the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, and are fond of presenting themselves as representatives of two totally different ways of looking at things.

On one side of the abyss people love to talk about morality and purity. On the other side people talk about politics and realities.

But neither of these pictures is completely correct. Sajudis has developed into a political force; it has its own internal tensions and is forced into its own internal showdowns and compromises. The party has also changed, been renewed, gone through a sort of moral purge.

Relations between the two organizations have developed in the course of a few short months from the embraces of those newly in love, via a deep and open crisis, to a sort of restrained mutual respect.

It all began at Sajudis's founding congress in late October last year, when Lithuania's newly appointed party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, an invited guest, was greeted by tumultuous applause for his promises of renewal.

"It was like a wedding," said Algimantas Chekuolis, one of Sajudis' founders, although he added that the wedding took place under threat from a rifle barrel.

The jubilation continued when the republic's Supreme Soviet passed a law in mid-November which restored the bourgeois and independent Lithuania's national anthem as the official hymn of Soviet Lithuania. At the same time the old yellow, green, and red flag again became the state flag, and within a minute it was flying proudly from the top of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's building.

Then came the crisis. On the eve of a Supreme Soviet meeting on a new Lithuanian constitution Brazauskas warned against excessive impatience.

"Do we need laws that will only remain in force for one day?" he asked rhetorically, referring to the demand that Lithuanian laws should be given precedence over all-union laws.

This demand, he said, would only meet with Moscow's veto. The new constitutional proposals were shelved for "further discussion and study," as it was put.

"This led to a major political crisis," Sajudis Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis recalled. "People stood waiting in the square outside the Surpreme Soviet building. The atmosphere was tense and cries of 'Traitors!' were heard."

Sajudis responded by calling a "standstill action" for the following Monday: For 10 minutes traffic stood still at Vilnius' intersections. For a whole week the yellow-green-red tricolor, edged in black, flew from windows and balconies. On Christmas Eve itself the lights of all Lithuanian homes went out and for half-an-hour a single candle burned in each and every window. It was a protest action of deep symbolic significance.

The party took counteraction. It broke off all talks with Sajudis. State-run television boycotted the people's front.

"The situation was threatening," Landsbergis said.

However, gradually a degree of "normalization" has taken place. The republic's leadership was "wise enough" not to adopt any other measures against Sajudis. And certain contacts have resumed. Now the tug-of-war is continuing, although in the form of a "correct dialogue," between Sajudis and the party prior to the 26 March elections.

Sajudis and the party are running against each with their own rival programs.

"We say that the events in 1939-40 (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states—DAGENS NYHETER editor's note) were an act of aggression," Chekuolis said. "It was a pact between two bandits, Hitler and Stalin, an occupation which led to annexation. Everything happened against the will of the people.

"We talk about the mass deportations and about the 'Auschwitz' created on the islands in the Arctic Ocean. And we say that if it was an occupation, then we communists (Chekuolis himself is a party member) must ask ourselves what we really are: communists, or quislings. If we are honest we have to admit this dilemma and seek a way out."

The way out which he and others in the Sajudis leadership talk about is to do with the Soviet Union's transformation from a union into a federation.

"The Soviet Union today is really Greater Russia," he said. "Our government is not ours. Our Central Committee is not ours but is Moscow's lackeys."

The Soviet Union's transformation into a federation of "sovereign" states would not only create a different political climate. It would also lay the foundation for a healthy economy, for economic development in the interests of the individual federal republics.

"But if we have a bastardized form of federation, a 'cosmetic' federation, it will no longer be possible to hold back the people. The people would then call for Lithuania's secession from the union."

At party headquarters Yustas Paletskis, the Central Committee member responsible for ideology, took up the theme. He is a man of the new age, talks calmly and without illusion, without cliches, with a full realization that through its policies in the past the party has used up the major part of its capital. He speaks as if he could subscribe to most of what Landsbergis and Chekuolis say.

But he also said that the situation in Lithuania today is such that it is the view of the "ignorant crowd" which is dominant. It is a time of "yes-or-no," "black-or-white." Feelings, and not the intellect, are shaping developments.

"Sajudis is being borne along on a wave which it does not control, and perhaps you could say the same thing about the party to a certain extent: We cannot resist. At the same time it is we who have the power and who must shoulder responsibility. The party must steer a course toward realism and pragmatism."

And this is not popular. But the party cannot "outbid" Sajudis. As a result it easily ends up in a defensive position. Paletskis has a plausible explanation for why things have gone this way in Lithuania.

In Estonia and Latvia the indigenous population amounts to less than 60 percent and a little more than 50 percent, respectively. Strong minorities of Russians, Ukrainians, White Russians, and other immigrant population groups have organized themselves and comprise a "third force" alongside the party and the people's fronts. The people's fronts have been forced to seek compromises with the party—and a sort of armed truce with the "third force's" so-called Interfront.

In Lithuania the Lithuanians amount to no less than 80 percent of the population. Here, too, there is an equivalent to Estonia's and Latvia's Interfronts—the Russian-dominated Unity organization—but it is weak, has no coherent program, and is without any leader figures. Therefore, Sajudis need not fear a war on two fronts. As a result, the confrontation with the party has been more open and more radical than in the other two Baltic republics.

Sajudis Member Views Demonstrators' Tactics

LD2702143089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 6, 9-15 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Algimantas Cekuolis: "Provocateurs Are Active."]

[Text] We stood on the balcony of Sajudis headquarters building observing Monday's demonstrators; they had gathered in the small area, known as Gediminas Square, located between the street and the front entrance to the recently rededicated Cathedral. We read the banners—one more valiant than the other: Red Army Go Home! [preceding slogan in English] We listened to even more valorous speeches, including attacks and shouts of defiance aimed at Sajudis. Along with several American journalists, we tried to estimate—how many were in that crowd, two thousand, three thousand?

We have become somewhat accustomed to this, but the Americans felt especially uneasy and kept asking us: Why is this demonstration being held now and in this fashion?

Lithuania's Draft Constitution is presently on the agenda and will soon be presented for the nation's consideration. It is a solid draft. Alternate Sajudis proposals, which are even more solid, also exist. We are all aware of the opposition which this Constitution faces, and know how powerful this opposition is.

The Language Statute was adopted. We know how severe a storm this caused in certain areas of Vilnius, Vilnija, Klaipeda and in Snieckus City, outside Lithuania's borders.

Election campaigning is spreading throughout Lithuania, like wildfire across a dry forest; it is already obvious that people who are liked and trusted will become deputies, and will speak on our behalf before the eyes of the world at the Kremlin. If we were to believe the Mike Dobson article which appeared in the WASHINGTON POST, it was only in Lithuania that he encountered this depth and authenticity in election democracy, and not in the neighboring areas, where everything remains as before.

Elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets will be held this fall. If the climate does not worsen, people will, undoubtedly, elect those whom they wish to elect. Many balloons will be deflated and many a chair will crack.

Three deputies from the Europian Parliament who visited Vilnius on a fact-finding mission have admitted that they had not anticipated to find this type of democracy here. Hans Joachim Zeler (Seeler), [deputy] from Hamburg, commented: "The history of Western Europe has taught us to proceed in small steps. Such steps must be taken every day, however."

There are those who are very displeased that Lithuania might reach far by proceeding thus quietly and in unison. They require some pretext, explosion, uncontrollable situation, or blood, in order to be able to say: "After all, this is inevitable; Lithuania needs to be set in order; the people need help."

Anyone can think up resounding slogans, since mudslinging does not require any brains. What about having the ability to stay in formation during a storm?

A foreign army, or even any army, is not liked by many. Does the League [Freedom League] have a string in its possession with which to tie up the tanks and pull them off in the direction of Asmene? If they do not have one, perhaps they should understand that it is dirty to deceive people. Perhaps we will be told once more about "assistance" from the U.S.? Thanks, we have received it already. It is now a thousand times further away than it was in 1945.

If only slogans and speeches could deliver jolts!

On that same Monday, a group of League bullies confronted the European Parliamentarians, who were on their way to pay a visit to Bishop Steponavicius, and blocked their way. They shoved the visitors around, shouting and insulting them; one of the visitors was kicked. League members are saying, in whispers, that they had no intention of acting that way; however, three strangers appeared in their midst who were especially violent. Perhaps these whispers are true, perhaps not. Such is the logical sequence and consistency of events, however. If we invoke violence, perpetrators of violent acts will appear. Others will help them.

A grenade could even be thrown at a most opportune moment.

Apparently someone has a great need for this sort of thing. It is needed today, for tomorrow may be too late.

If this was not the work of League members, why then does the League leadership not condemn the provocateurs? They can use the press to accomplish this.

Those individuals who lack substantive and constructive ideas, but who are itching to be heard and noticed, resort to sharp words. Later they start shrieking. (Some of those are present within Sajudis ranks, as well.) Brawls arise in the market place and in dormitories—a real headache for those in the vicinity.

Provocation may become, and is already starting to become, the onset of division during this current period of historical change.

Jacob Von Yukskyul [name as transliterated], Great Britain's "Greens'" deputy to the European Parliament, who spoke on Tuesday, referred to the instinctive conspiracy between conservatives and extremists and their virtual mutual support. He cast a sad glance at the assembled group of journalists and said: "...We in Western Europe will be able to deliver strong denunciations; in retrospect, however, that is probably not what the people of Lithuania seek."

Vilnius Party Meeting Criticizes 'Sajudis' Activists
PM2802155189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 16 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "More Tolerance, More Understanding"]

[Text] A party meeting of Communists from Vilnius' 60-Letiya Oktyabrya Production Association was held in Vilnius 14 February. It discussed the tasks assigned by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Address to Communists, working people, and all the republic's voters, and assessed the political situation prevailing in Lithuania.

The party meeting was addressed by V.A. Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He said that this is the first time in the Lithuanian Communist Party's history that such a complex political situation has developed. There is much that is unusual, there is much that is happening for the first time. "We are well aware of people's dissatisfaction with some of our steps, some statements and assessments or, on the other hand, the lack of assessments. And we are making all efforts to avoid hasty and ill-considered decisions. What is it that alarms us most in the present political situation? It is people's activeness which goes to extremes, activeness which is backed neither by laws nor other regulations but only by emotions, an activeness which is at times overlooked by Communists," V.A. Berezov noted.

The second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee spoke in greater detail about "Sajudis." He noted that, at the initial stage, the entire movement was in favor of restructuring, in favor of supporting the renewal of society's life which was launched by the party. At the initial stage the "Sajudis" action group included people who expressed critical remarks but did so within the framework of Soviet Lithuania's socialist society. They criticized the periods of Stalinism and stagnation and individual stagnation-leaders; they demanded certain changes. We probably made a mistake by failing to immediately establish closer contacts with this positive part of the intelligentsia, by not channeling its activity into the correct course, and by embarking on a certain confrontation. This was due to both subjective and objective causes.

Unfortunately, while the activity of "Sajudis" is positive, some of its representatives have changed their stance and have even departed from their program as adopted by the "Sajudis" congress. They promote demands in harmony with those from extreme right-wing informal associations—such as, for example, the

demand to secede from the USSR and abandon socialism, and others. We Communists must unite in action against such extremist statements and offer a correct party assessment of them.

The speaker spoke of the report-and-election campaign party meetings and party conferences held in the republic, the campaign for the nomination of candidate people's deputies, the need to seek ways to attract the working class and kolkhoz peasantry to the party's side, and the fact that party organs must keep the population informed about their activity so as to avoid giving the impression that "Sajudis" is doing everything while the party remains inactive; he spoke of the possibility of addressing the Lithuanin Communist Party Central Committee more frequently, of writing letters about worrying problems, of expressing opinions on any decisions made. This would promote a better understanding of our common concerns and needs. It is necessary to ensure that there are no confrontations in multinational labor collectives, no divisions between "Sajudis" supporters and "Yedinstvo" supporters. Charges of nationalism and chauvinism will never lead us to the truth, they will only bring about an exacerbation of the situation and malicious anger. This is no part of the goals pursued by either the Central Committee or the party organizations. The present day demands more tolerance, more understanding of one another.

V.A. Berezov also noted that the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the use of the state language caused dissatisfaction among part of the republic's foreign-language-speaking population. "Russians and Poles demand the opportunity to study in their own native language in educational establishments, including VUZ's. Nobody has denied them this right, but since the question has been raised we will clarify it and take it in hand," the speaker said. "The republic's Council of Ministers is now drafting a document which will amplify the decree's implementation."

The association's party meeting was addressed by F.I. Daskal, deputy chief technologist; V.A. Pilyushkin, foreman in the Quality Control Department; department Chief P.P. Kalinichenko; and other Communists. While recognizing on the whole the state status of the Lithuanian language, they pointed out certain vague provisions and demand more accurate explanation of some of the decree's articles. Communists voiced their concern at the fact that Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee officials give a lot of attention to informal associations like "Sajudis" and "Yedinstvo" while their visits to primary party organizations are infrequent, that they fail to offer a clear-cut assessment of actions by extremist groupings in the republic. The opinion was expressed that the "Yedinstvo" rally held in Vilnius 12 February received biased coverage from the mass media; other problems were discussed.

Comrade V.A. Berezov answered questions from the association's Communists.

Prosecutor Pledges 'Order' in Lithuania

PM2802161589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 1

["Statement" by Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor L. Sabutis: "Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor's Statement"]

[Text] The Communist Party, the government, public formations, and all honest people in the republic seek to implement correct restructuring in all spheres of our life. Positive processes are occurring in thinking, culture, and politics. Much has been done to create a rule-of-law state. Progressive—from the viewpoint of restructuring—normative acts are already in force, and legality is being restored with regard to the particularly gross violations of the law perpetrated in previous decades. The new Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies is being realized. No one remains indifferent to all kinds of procedural violations and disputes, and people are reacting particularly sensitively to the resolution of national questions and questions of social justice. This is understandable.

However, not all is proceeding normally with regard to observance of laws and commonsense demands. Worst of all, undesirable processes, decisions, pickets, and rallies are increasing all the time, and people try to justify all this with the concept of creating a rule-of-law state, broadening democracy, and quickly achieving certain aims.

On Gediminas Square in Vilnius in the summer and the fall certain extremists tried to demonstrate their attitude to the 1939 events in Lithuania. That was followed, as is known, by no less stormy actions against deputies on Taribu Square and on other streets in the city. Not so long ago still more brazen attacks occurred in Nagornyy Park, outside the Letuva Hotel, and outside the Palace of Sport. There was everything there—slander, deception, and agitation to violate the Constitution and the demands of the existing laws in the republic. At the interfaces of political life provocateurs and overemotional people who call for labor discipline and laws to be violated are making intolerable attempts to impose their own will.

Informal printed publications and insulting leaflets and slogans which have appeared now in one place, now in another have recently been carrying various ultimatums more and more widely too.

This arouses great concern and alarm in everyone, does not incline people to serious work, and disrupts public life and the normal activities of enterprises, establishments, and organizations.

The republic Prosecutor's Office declares that a working group of law and order organs has been set up to investigate these phenomena. Its purpose is to ensure that all organizers of measures adhere to elementary law and order, while those whose actions are criminal will

have to answer before the people and the law and personally explain themselves to investigative and judicial organs and to the public. At the same time it is pointed out that personnel of departments for safeguarding public order, people's volunteer militiamen, deputies, and leaders of establishments are not only themselves under the protection of the laws but are also obliged to use them more actively and more frequently and to fulfill their duty with regard to safeguarding public tranquillity, the state's interests, and the dignity and inviolability of the person.

In cooperation with the aktivs of state and public organizations, Prosecutor's Office personnel will do all in their power to promote the realization of democracy and order within the framework of the existing laws in Lithuania and will leave not a single violation unassessed, whoever commits it.

Lithuanian Youth Groups Not To Tolerate Religion
PM2702145189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has discussed how the restructuring of the activity of the Lithuanian Komsomol and the V.I. Lenin Young Pioneers Organization is being implemented.

The resolution that was adopted notes that the atmosphere of renewal prevailing in the republic has stimulated young people. They advocate the democratization of public life, glasnost, and the activity of our entire society according to the norms of the rule-of-law state.

The ability of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee to respond promptly to the progressive changes in our life and its efforts to cater to young people's interests were assessed positively. The Komsomol has supported many youth groups' initiatives (the "green" movement, cultural-historical clubs, and so on), and has joined actively in the process of national rebirth. The restructuring of the activity of the Lithuanian Komsomol and Young Pioneers Organization aimed at expanding their independence has partly helped to maintain the Komsomol's influence on young people. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the fact that order has recently deteriorated in some educational establishments and discipline has slackened gives cause for concern. In many schools the conditions have not been created for children and young people to show initiative, the principles of teachers' influence on student self-management have not been restructured in a timely manner, and students' interest in social work is not being studied. In an attempt to explain the distorted socialist society, the unified and virtually unchanging system of social sciences which has existed until now has begun to aspire to make generalizations about all eventualities of life. This has produced an unfavorable or even hostile attitude toward the social sciences among pupils and students. Educational establishments often avoid debates and pay little attention to molding young people's national self-awareness, and not all teachers are prepared to elucidate the problems of restructuring and historical questions in a skilled and convincing fashion.

Therefore pupils and students are demanding that certain subjects be abolished and that teachers or lecturers be replaced. Events held by educational establishments, their Komsomol committees, or other public organizations are being boycotted. Leaders of educational establishments and party organizations are playing a waiting game and are not publicly expressing their stance concerning the processes that are taking place.

Pupils and students are encouraged to be more active in forming new societies, organizations, and movements. Some of these youth groups, although not confronting Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations, oppose their monopoly of youth leadership and advocate the creation of a union or parliament of Lithuanian youth organizations. Attempts are being made to create youth organizations which try to oppose their activity to Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations. People who propagate religion and nationalism are infiltrating the youth audience. Their interference and instructions are hampering schools' normal life.

There have been serious shortcomings in the activity of the republic's Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations. The authority and prestige of Komsomol workers and primary organization secretaries has fallen. Some Komsomol organizations are led by passive Komsomol members without leadership abilities.

Recently the situation has become noticeably more complex with the emergence of all kinds of youth and children's movements.

The Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee has been slow to prepare new, constructive programs to restructure the activity of Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations.

The Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee and the Ministry of Public Education lack a common constructive opinion on the restructuring of the republican Young Pioneer Organization's activity. The work of personnel of the Republican Palace of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren, some of whom are not acting for the benefit of the pioneer organization, is not assessed in a principled fashion.

Party and Komsomol gorkoms, raykoms, and primary organizations pay little attention to questions of restructuring the work of Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations. There has been intolerable temporizing, old work methods have not been abandoned in all places, and there are instances of formalism and petty tutelage.

The position of the youth press and the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in assessing the activity of Young Pioneer and Komsomol organizations and informal movements and groups is not clear.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee instructed Lithuanian Communist Party gorkoms and raykoms to analyze systematically the young generation's social and spiritual needs and to expand socioeconomic and legal opportunities to satisfy them. They must show great trust in young people, involving them in resolving important tasks of socioeconomic development and in managing society. [passage omitted]

Cases where the constitutional directive on the separation of school and church is violated or where extramural and other educational establishments call for religious children's and youth organizations to be established must not be tolerated. Youth movements propagating national exclusiveness and belittling the socialist society's genuine values must not be tolerated.

Party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are instructed to discuss the prevailing situation in Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations and to plan measures to improve educational work in extramural and other educational establishments in resolving young people's socioeconomic problems. They must more strictly monitor the fulfillment of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution of 28 April 1988 "On Expanding Komsomol Organizations' Potential in Resolving Socioeconomic Tasks." [passage omitted]

Georgian VUZ Chief Rejects Rumors, Scorns Protest
PM0803111989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 4

[GRUZINFORM report: "Taking Part in the Rally Had Nothing To Do With It"]

[Text] "Did you hear about 3,000 students being expelled from the Georgian Polytechnical Institute?" (From a conversation between passengers on a streetcar).

We asked the head of the VUZ, rector G. Chogovadze, corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, to answer this and some other questions connected with the well-known events that occurred at the institute on 18 February.

[Question] First of all, let us be clear about the number expelled from the institute.

[Chogovadze] Much has been said recently about greater exactingness and principle when assessing knowledge in VUZ's, particularly in ours. But I think that is natural today, in a period when there is a dramatically increased demand for highly skilled engineers. Moreover, it transpires that there were a number of errors and violations in last summer's entrance examinations. However, it was 350 rather than several thousands who were expelled. They may soon be joined by those students who cannot cope with the academic program, who do not pass their examinations.

[Question] Some people claim that the expelled students' real "crime" was participation in various unsanctioned rallies. Is that so?

[Chogovadze] It is not. Teachers and students possessing the requisite skills and knowledge are continuing to work and study at the institute despite their participation in rallies. But it is others, people with quite a different level of education, who are complaining. Judge for yourself: Two first-year students asked me for permission to sit the winter examination for the...fourth time. I agreed, but on condition that they solve a simple task from the academic program of the...secondary school fifth year there and then, in my office. One of them, on looking at the problem, said it was too difficult for him; the other came up with the wrong answer....

[Question] Evidently there were many similarly "aggrieved" people among the participants of the 18 February Georgian Polytechnical Institute rally, which did not have the sanction of the authorities.

[Chogovadze] Clearly, yes. As for the rally itself, doubts about the advisability of holding it were expressed by the rector's office, the joint academic council, war and labor veterans, the student aktiv, and many others.

[Question] Nevertheless....

[Chogovadze] There have been threats and statements by telephone and by letter about a determination to take extreme steps unless the decision to expel the failed students and halt admissions to the Georgian Polytechnical Institute department in Sukhumi is revoked. One of the informal "leaders," Z. Chavchavadze, and institute aide R. Kuprava came on the evening of 16 February and delivered an "either-or" ultimatum: They threatened to get 10,000 people to turn out for a rally. Another of their demands was that the Georgian Polytechnical Institute be transferred to...Bogdanovka or Akhalkalaki(?!). Can one make such statements without a knowledge of the economics and the infrastructure? They would not get philologists, who are in plentiful supply in the republic, let alone others to go and work in those regions.

[Question] There has been much misunderstanding of the rector's decision to abolish branches of the institute in the republic's cities. In particular, there was a protest at the rally about the VUZ leadership's intentions regarding its department in Sukhumi....

[Chogovadze] I believe that the establishment of Georgian Polytechnical Institute branches in Batumi, Tkibuli, Gori, and other places was unwarranted. After all, we do not have a decent laboratory base even in Tbilisi, and the

standard of engineer training falls short of modern demands. As for the branches, training there is a wretched affair; it is becoming increasingly difficult to administer them from Tbilisi and it involves unreasonably high material expenditure. That is why it was decided to close the branches. But it does not mean that strong scientific centers cannot be set up in their place. For example, one might organize a Black Sea ecology service using the facilities of the department in Sukhumi.

[Question] I think this proposal will interest scientists and the public. But let us go back to the question of the rally....

"On that day," Professor D. Chkheidze, academic prorector of the Georgian Polytechnical Institute, joined in the conversation, "we addressed the gathering in order to explain the rectorate's position once again, to urge the young people to refrain from displaying excessive emotion which could have unforeseen, uncontrollable consequences. One had the impression that they had listened and understood, and that there would be no trouble. But...after a while the young people went to Saakadze Square and set off along Peace Avenue to the institute's main building. Don't get the wrong idea—no one is against rallies as such; we are talking about unsanctioned and largely provocative actions.

Georgian, Azerbaijani Appointments Reported

PM2802111389

[Editorial Report] Recent editions of Soviet republic newspapers have reported the following official appointments:

Rafik Gasan ogly Mamedov has been appointed chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Fuel under a 16 February republic Supreme Soviet Presidium decree front-paged by Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 17 February.

Akakiya Archilovich Dvalishvili has been appointed Georgian deputy minister of culture according to an unattributed "Diary" report carried on page 3 of Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 February, which also reports the release from duty of Deputy Minister of Local Industry D.D. Bedukadze (position abolished) and Deputy Minister of Highways O.V. Mkheidze (retirement on pension).

R. Kh. Kontselidze has been elected chairman of the Georgian Potrebsoyuz Board, according to a GRUZINFORM report on a 17 February meeting of the union board carred on page 2 of Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 February.

Vezirov Addresses Azerbaijan Party Meeting 24 Feb

NC2702094489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] The party regards the development of the agro-industrial complex and its main agricultural domain in every way as a significant economic and political task. More importance is being attached to the (?needs) of the peasants, and this has encouraged their work. They are gradually making a more valuable contribution to the successful implementation of reconstruction.

Significant resources exist in the agro-industrial complex for resolving the supply problem. This matter was discussed at the meeting that was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee with the participation of the leading officials of a number of rayon agro-industrial unions, firms, agricultural enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes on 24 February. Comrade Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the convocation. Comrade Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Comrade Abdullayev, first secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, participated in the meeting.

Vezirov Attends Meeting on Socioeconomics

NC0103100489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report on the meeting that was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on [words indistinct]. The meeting was devoted to the main problems of upgrading the pace of the republic's socioeconomic development, realizing main economic reforms, applying new economic methods in a scientific way, and implementing progressive forms in trade relations and in remuneration of work in the work collectives.

The meeting was opened by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. Addresses were made, and Comrade Vezirov summed up the meeting.

Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Muslim Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom; and Ziyad Samed-Zade, chief of the Social Economy Department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

Nakhichevan ASSR Deputy Premier on Refugee Problem

PM2802171389 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 2

[Correspondent B. Imanguliyev interview with A.I. Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers: "A Conciliatory Step"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Work to normalize interethnic relations, restore neighborliness, and return people to their home areas is going on in the Nakhichevan ASSR. The first resettled

Armenian families have begun returning to their homes in Ordubadskiy and Babekskiy Rayons and the Nakhichevan ASSR. Our correspondent met with A.I. Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, and asked him to describe how the work to return the resettlers to their places of permanent residence will continue.

[Imanguliyev] Agababa Imanovich, what specific steps is the leadership of the autonomous republic taking to provide facilities for resettlers?

[Abdullayev] Just before the beginning of November last year the republic received 18,000 resettlers. Now 4,890 remain; many have gone to other parts of Azerbaijan. Of those who remain 1,866 are women and 1,600 are children of preschool and school age. The children have been placed in schools and provided with the necessary school equipment and textbooks. The "Yardym" fund has R326,000 in its account to help resettlers with temporary living needs. Parcels of land are being allocated and the construction of a new settlement is planned. We are helping with the work. R2 million has been deposited with the Nakhichevan branch of Gosbank for the resettlers.

[Imanguliyev] And what is being done to get the resettlers to return?

[Abdullayev] The commission for resettlers' problems has three groups, each headed by a member of the oblast party organization bureau.

A meeting of representatives of party committees from all neighboring rayons has been held. Some 29 Armenian families have returned to the autonomous republic.

I accompanied USSR Supreme Soviet deputy R. Mamedov, who heads one of the groups, and Shakhbuzskiy Raykom First Secretary T. Khudayberdyyev on a visit to Sisianskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR on 22 January this year. We met with raykom first secretary Kh. Arakelyan and other soviet and economic leaders of the rayon, workers, and kolkhoz members and visited villages.

On this trip we set ourselves the task of establishing contacts between the two rayons' party and soviet organs. We visited villages where Azerbaijanis live—Agudin, Shaki, Naravan, and Aravis—and visited Azerbaijanis' homes which are waiting for their masters to return. In conversation with us the rayon leaders, workers, and kolkhoz members invariably stressed the need for people to return to their homes.

It is not so easy to persuade people, of course; firm guarantees are needed. In words these have already been achieved. To make further progress we agreed to hold joint meetings in the near future between workers and members of the intelligentsia from Babekskiy and Shakhbuzskiy Rayons in the Azerbaijan SSR and Azizbekovskiy and Sisianskiy Rayons in the Armenian SSR. It has been decided to hold the first such meeting in Sisianskiy Rayon and the second in Shakhbuz.

NKAO Committee Chairman Says 'Fire Still Smoldering'

PM0103122589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Topical interview" with A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee and chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Belan: "Karabakh's Difficult Problems"; date not given]

[Text] Stepanakert—[Belan] Arkadiy Ivanovich, Nagorno-Karabakh remains an area of keen public interest. This is understandable: The special form of administration, and the curfew still in force.... The situation in the oblast today—what can you say about it?

[Volskiy] First of all, a few words about the actual introduction of special administration. It was an unusual decision, of course, and it must be said that there is nothing like it in our country's history. It may appear at first glance that we are dealing with something that does not fit in with the party's course of all-around democratization, people's power, and self-management. I will not disguise the fact that there was some hesitation over introducing it. Right up until the final moment there was always the hope that good sense would prevail in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh and the situation would return to normal.

Unfortunately this did not happen. The interethnic strife in the region continued to get worse, and in the latter months of last year it essentially developed into outright clashes. As a result, more than 200,000 people in Armenia and Azerbaijan were forced to leave their homes, their work, and areas of settlement. People were driven out simply because they were of a different nationality. Reason ceased to exercise control, and cruelty and injustice took root among the masses. Therefore, stiff measures were needed—the introduction of a special situation in a number of rayons. I emphasize that the sole purpose was to halt the orgy of violence.

It is important to remember all this when we talk about the autonomous oblast today. The situation in it has now been basically normalized, and in a number of rayons refugees are returning home. But the overall atmosphere of relations between members of the two nationalities unfortunately remains tense. Mutual suspicion and distrust remain, and there has been no letup in recriminations and accusations. The passions that raged then have not been extinguished, and the fire is still smoldering, and, as life shows, it suits certain people very well that it should continue thus.

The causes of the situation are a topic for special discussion. The chief ones have been talked about by M.S. Gorbachev. I will mention the distortion of socialist relations in Azerbaijan and Armenia, gross errors in the international education of the population, and the frantic resistance to restructuring by the mafia and politically and morally corrupt leaders.

Now the new leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia, above all the first secretaries of the republic Communist Party Central Committees and chairmen of the Councils of Ministers, are taking vigorous steps to improve the situation and accelerate restructuring processes. Dozens, hundreds of those who had been fueling interethnic strife and pushing the Azerbaijani and Armenian people into the flames of interethnic enmity while vigorously fanning those flames in order to save or uphold their own selfish interests, have been removed from their posts and expelled from the party.

[Belan] In its one month's work has the Special Administration Committee managed to accomplish anything, to influence the situation, to decide on its chief areas of activity?

[Volskiy] Certainly. A month is both a long time and not long enough. But what we can definitely say is that we are deeply convinced that trust will be restored between the two peoples. Although we have no illusions—it will be a difficult process. Indeed, many issues have come to the surface which give cause for grievances and mutual distrust. They include, of course, the most acute one—the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. In many socioeconomic aspects the oblast is in a serious state. It is effectively on the brink of economic collapse.

What do we have now as a result of distortions in the economy and in the social sphere, as a result of indifference toward the development of production forces and the infrastructure of Nagorno-Karabakh? Here are just a few elements of the overall picture. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) farms produce of the order of 11,500 tonnes of meat, but only 35 percent is processed in situ. The live animals are simply driven hundreds of kilometers to other cities for processing and lose weight on the way. The end result is an enormous loss for the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There is no mixed feed plant, which makes it extremely difficult to keep livestock supplied with feed. In the NKAO there is not a single cannery or food enterprise, apart from a solitary dairy combine in Stepanakert. If you take the oblast center itself, the municipal services are in a very neglected state and the NKAO capital does not even have a development master plan.

Housing construction, health services, education—difficulties wherever you look. Suffice it to say that of the 207 medical institutions in the oblast only 7 are housed in buildings specially designed for that purpose. Of the 197 general educational schools 113 are in unconventional buildings. Only one-half of preschool children have places in kindergartens. In the past 35 years not one cultural institution has been constructed. Some 21 libraries in the oblast's rayons are located in ordinary houses.

[Belan] Was it this agglomeration of economic and social problems that gave rise to the tense situation, that aroused passions and caused open clashes on interethnic grounds?

[Volskiy] Not only that. Although it is very important. It is all more complex and deeper than that. These problems are closely interwoven, for example, with the humiliating treatment of the ethnic minority locally. Through the fault of the former leaders, for instance, the children of Armenians in general educational schools were not given good enough Armenian language training and the study of Armenian history was practically forbidden. For instance, three languages were compulsory subjects: Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Russian. Plus another, foreign one. So only one-fourth of the training program was allocated to Armenian and people left school with a poor knowledge of their native language, which, naturally, frustrated them and offended their ethnic sentiments.

So the grievances that had built up over the years surfaced in a movement for separation from Azerbaijan. Not from the Azerbaijanis, this I want to stress, but from the former leaders of the republic. Indeed, at first the Karabakh movement was not even ehtnically motivated; it was a movement for the restoration of social justice.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that people of Armenian nationality were not the only frustrated people in Nagorno-Karabakh; it applies equally to Azerbaijanis. The level of development of many Azerbaijani villages, and indeed of the city of Shusha is substantially lower than in other regions, and unjustifiably so. Unfortunately, instead of jointly seeking a solution to all these problems the former leaders embarked on the path of confrontation and started to bring ethnic motives into everything. By no means always did the former leaders of Armenia act sensibly or with due tact and circumspection either.

It must be said too that, as the situation got worse at the beginning of last year, the powerlessness of the authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh itself was constantly apparent. Many leaders were proteges of the stagnation period and they had been able to organize a kind of boycott of restructuring. In fact, what did we see when we arrived here? In terms of the development of democracy, glasnost, and self-management the oblast was, as it were, in a different age. Instead of caring for people's welfare and for social justice, many people launched into politicking, into a power struggle, and, to be frank, loafed around, taking refuge in slogans of mutual grievance.

That is the reality, grim and unusual. Obviously it will take time, passions will subside, and for sure really honest and upright people, genuinely expressing the

people's interests, will come forward into leading roles. We see it as the Special Administration's Committee's main task to generate this atmosphere.

I want to stress that the special form of administration is not a return to the times of command-and-administer methods of management. Moreover, it is a resolute negation of all the alien and stagnant elements that are hindering restructuring in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Our immediate tasks are to thoroughly improve the situation, organize the cadres of the stagnation period on a broad democratic basis and, if need be, replace them, put into practice the principles of self-management and the lease system, and pave the way for creative work by honest and enterprising people.

Of course, not all aspects of the Special Administration Committee's activity are clear in detail. But what is clear is its main aim—tranquillity and the people's well-being. Its manner of operation is close collaboration with labor collectives and public and unofficial associations. Its principles are in the spirit of restructuring, glasnost, and democracy and profound respect for people's sociopolitical and ethnic interests.

We must devise ways that are acceptable in the present situation of tackling pressing issues that have been neglected here. We would certainly not want the committee to be seen as a kind of supervisory or, worse still, punitive organ. We have been given exceptional powers, but in no way would we want to fully exercise them.

Thus, the committee intends, in its activities, to employ the most democratic work methods. What else? Indeed, all the powers given to us are nothing without the link with the people, a two-way link. We see this as the chief guarantee of the success of the committee's work.

[Belan] And how does this apply to economic activity?

[Volskiy] We have put forward the thesis of regional economic accountability. This is not a whim or a vogue, but an absolute necessity. I am convinced that it is in fact the only possible solution to Nagorno-Karabakh's current socioeconomic problems. Even now the first steps are being taken to set up independent economically accountable associations, and they will form the basis of regional economic accountability. The CPSU Central Committee and the government have allocated massive resources—over R400 million—for the socioeconomic development of the NKAO. The committee intends to tackle these problems democratically and through glasnost, in conjunction with the people. It must be said that both the oblast party organization and its population are actively responding to all our measures. The setting up of independent, economically accountable associations is supported by practically all industrial enterprise collectives. At the moment we are considering how to restore the former reputation of Nagorno-Karabakh working people in agriculture. In fact, the agrarian sector has the leading role in the oblast economy. It is clear now that kolkhoz and sovkhozes facilities need fundamental reconstruction, and the widespread introduction of lease arrangements and collective and family contracts is required. The rural worker must be made to feel that he is in charge of the land.

But union ministries and departments undoubtedly must play a big part in rectifying the state of affairs in the NKAO. We are grateful that in the past month ministers and their deputies have made frequent trips here at our invitation and have started to help solve the very difficult tasks. Good prospects already exist, but it will take time to realize them.

[Belan] The affirmation of the principle of social justice in the economic and management sphere, in the health service, and so on naturally does away with many acute questions and will serve to improve interethnic relations. But, clearly, it is not only socioeconomic measures that are needed.

[Volskiy] Indeed, and this applies not only to Nagorno-Karabakh, I think. As is known, many issues have accumulated in our country in the interethnic relations sphere, and they will be discussed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in mid-year. I am convinced that it is necessary to revive the Leninist principles of building a multinational state and of relations between nations and ethnic groups. To restore them. This is it in a nutshell. But, really, it is a topic for a separate discussion, and I am simply unable in the context of the present interview to develop ideas about our state setup in detail, for instance, or enter into a debate.

[Belan] One question that will certainly be of interest to many people: The special form of administration, can it exist without the special situation?

[Volskiy] My profound belief, one that comes from my experience of the NKAO, is no, they are closely interrelated. The special form of administration is introduced when the special situation, owing to exceptional circumstances, is introduced. We are collaborating closely with the military commandant and the Special District political organizer and are tackling practically all the tasks jointly.

[Belan] It is the first time troops of the Soviet Army have worked so closely with subunits of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and internal forces. As committee chairman, how would you assess the level of collaboration?

[Volskiy] Extremely high. The whole point is that we are not divided over who is responsible for what and who does what—army, police, or internal forces. That is the most important thing. Although when we were just starting and had no experience to speak of, there was an awful lot of red tape. The army, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the internal forces all had their own bosses, their own orders, their own practices, and even

the instructions were different. The Special District political department got out of the situation by establishing an overall command. And immediately we saw how much we had missed, how much time and effort we had wasted by dividing the implementation of common tasks into separate parts. Indeed, the question of coordinating forces and resources and making them subject to a single will and single command is fundamental. So not only the army and internal forces, but we too, the committee members, and oblast party and soviet organs as well have gained new experience.

[Belan] Arkadiy Ivanovich, have you worked this closely with military people before, performing tasks jointly?

[Volskiy] Yes, several times. Indeed, for a while my work required me to be directly involved with the creation of new technology, including defense technology.

[Belan] So you are able to compare. In your assessment, how are our troops operating here?

[Volskiy] I see people of highly developed political culture, well educated and deeply knowledgeable about their jobs. I can say that the present officer corps is quite different from the one with whose representatives I had dealt with before. And I simply do not understand why there have been unwarranted and groundless attacks on commanders and political workers in some of our publications of late. In my view, their authors simply do not know these people who are honestly carrying out their duty to the people.

My judgment of them is based on reports by members of the Special Administration Committee, on the opinion of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh, and on daily meetings with Major General A. Kolomiytsev, Special District military commandant, and Colonel A. Naumenko, political department chief. They are strong military and political leaders, educators, people dedicated to restructuring in the finest sense of the word, loyal to the people and reliable party assistants. The units and subunits which they lead have made an enormous contribution to stabilizing the situation. The troops have displayed a high degree of internationalism in practice. There it is, the true face of our soldiers, courageous and agreeable. Many thanks to them on behalf of the party Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and on behalf of the Special Admimistration Committee and people of Nagornyy Karabakh.

Life in the autonomous oblast will stabilize in time. The economy of this fertile land will flourish. There is no doubt that this will happen. And I believe that the Karabakh people will have many kind words to say about all those who came to their aid in their hour of need. They will also remember our soldiers, for whom they have always had the sincerest respect.

Armenian Patriarch Vazken Registered as Candidate
NC0703131289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, as we already had reported, Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians, has been registered as a candidate deputy in the No 739 territorial election ogruk of Edzhmiatsin for election as people's deputy of the Soviet Union.

Journalist Varuzhan Vosganyan visited with the esteemed patriarch on that occasion recently, and interviewed him.

[Begin recording] [Vosganyan] (?Now that) your holiness has been nominated as the people's candidate deputy of the Soviet Union, I would like to know what activities you would be carrying out if elected to that post.

[Vazgen] First, I would like to express my satisfaction at having my name proposed for candidacy for deputy. I have accepted that offer. I believe it represents (?respect) for me and special attention by the public for our church. It is the first time that such a situation has arisen in our country, apparently as a result of the new thinking and work style that has generally engulfed the Soviet Union through restructuring and democratization. I am also happy that there will be participation in the Soviet of Deputies, our country's highest body, at the church level. To translate in Armenian, the Soviet of Deputies is a meeting of deputies. As to how I could contribute at that highest level, it is clear to me that as the spiritual leader of the [word indistinct] church, I have a specific and purely religious mission in our people's life. Therefore, I will participate in that meeting of deputies in this capacity and, if an opportunity is provided, I will express myself in that capacity. Of course, I have to be concerned with and express myself on religious issues and church affairs, always bearing in mind that I must defend the interests of the Armenian Church and seek to resolve the problems facing the (?people).

[Vosganyan] Thank you [words indistinct]. We hope that our people will defend your candidacy and that we will see you in the ranks of the people's deputies of the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Armenian Ideological Commission Meets 16 Feb
LD2702152489 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 17 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[For a related report see the 23 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 80-81]

[Excerpts] The Ideological Commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee held its first session on 16 February under the chairmanship of G. Galoyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The session discussed the basic directions of the commission's activities in 1989 and examined urgent issues of the ideological work of

party committees, ideological, scientific, and educational establishments, mass media, and public organizations, and the tasks of organizing this work under the conditions of the present phase of economic and political reform. [passage omitted]

It was noted that this work assumes particular immediacy in connection with the natural disaster that struck the republic and the deterioration of interethic relations. [passage omitted]

Members of the commission and leaders of a number of ideological establishments and mass media emphasized that ideological work under present conditions must be based on real processes taking place in the community. It is necessary to take fully into account public opinion, the interests of the various sections of the population and all the working people of the republic, to thoroughly deepen the process of democratization and glasnost, and to wage a principled struggle against phenomena hampering restructuring—that is to say, corruption, bribery, nepotism, idleness, demagogy, rumor-mongering, and anonymous letters. [passage omitted]

The session discussed questions of the region's ethnic relations, whose deterioration has considerably distabilized the work rhythm of industry and agriculture, has had an adverse effect on the ideological and moral atmosphere of the republic, and has created a number of additional difficulties—the main one of which concerns the tens of thousands of resettlers who have relinquished their places of residence.

The efforts of the Ideological Commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms, the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol, and primary party and Komsomol organizations must be directed at the implementation of decisive measures for mending interethnic relations in the republic [passage omitted]

There was ringing criticism at the conference of the organizations and communists who are making an erroneous appraisal of the processes under way or who exhibit unprincipledness, thereby doing nothing for the stabilization of interethic relations. Ideological workers must be fully concious of their responsibility to the people, take up clear and principled positions, and speak up in defense of the party's policy, democratization, and glasnost, in the name of restoring the moral atmosphere of the republic and the region.

The participants in the session noted that the 12 January 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on "Prescribing a special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast" and the appeal of the central committees of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Parties and the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Council of Ministers to citizens who have moved away from their places of permanent residence contributed substantially to the process of normalization of interethnic relations and the restoration of the neighborly relations of the populations of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR. [passage omitted]

The session heard about directing the increased activeness of the working people in connection with the forthcoming elections of USSR people's deputies toward solving practical problems of the further democratization of society, the creation of a state of law and placing the republic on the tracks of restructuring and renovation. It was noted that the mass media are showing unforgivable sluggishness in explaining the progress of the preparations for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenums on questions of agricultural policy and interethnic relations.

The participants in the session noted unanimously that the decision to close down the power generation blocks of the Armenian AES is a new and striking example of the concern of the party and government for the fate of the Armenian people. This truly fateful decision requires of all working people and each inhabitant of the republic a high sense of responsibility, a realization that it is only through the application of the strictest practices of saving electricity both in production and in daily life that the deficit in the electricity supply in the republic can be met. [passage omitted]

The question of caring for the mother tongue and its extensive use as the state language in all spheres in the life of the republic was deliberated at the session in the spirit of the September 1988 plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The necessity of further improving the teaching of the Russian language as a means of interethnic communication was emphasized.

The ideological commission of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee deemed it necessary to submit this question to examination by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The draft of the decision will be published in the press soon for public deliberation. The ideological commission will prepare and submit for public deliberation in 1989 plans for scientific research into and teaching and mass dissemination of the history and literature of the Armenian people as well as for further improving and strengthening ties with the Armenians in the diaspora. [passage omitted]

Earthquake Relief Work Proceeds in Armenian SSR

Figures Released 28 Feb

NC0203204589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] The Press Information Center of the USSR Council of Ministers says that the total sum transfered from various countries to the USSR Foreign Trade Bank now exceeds R17 million. On 27 February alone, R310,000 worth of foreign currency were deposited in the Moscow branch of the aforesaid bank. On the same day, R1 million

were transfered to account 700412 from the various republics. Thus, the overall sum for this purpose reached R1.313 billion. The republic's Finance Ministry has already distributed R757.386 million to the victims as one-time assistance and compensation for lost property.

The removal of collapsed ferroconcrete structures from the damaged cities is continuing. Already 1,122,000 cubic meters of rubble have been removed. Out of this, 13,207 tonnes of scrap metal and more thatn 19,000 cubic meters of tufa stone have been sorted out and handed over to the state for reprocessing.

On 26 February 2,562 railcars were due for unloading, of which 1,623 have actually been unloaded. Since then, it has been the fault of various enterprises and organizations that 514 railcars have not been unloaded. Repair and reconstruction work is continuing for public economic services. The sanitary and epidemiological situation is stable.

2 March Update

NC0303120489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 02 March 89

[Text] The Press Information Center of the USSR Council of Ministers has informed our reporter today that, according to the current figures of the Armenian Finance Ministry, so far in the 20 cities and rayons damaged by the quake, 88,171 enterprises have been surveyed, of which 65,879 have been deemed eligible for compensation.

The victims have been paid R 382,970,000, of which R 280,660,000 has been paid for rebuilding purposes. In addition, the ministry officials have paid R 766,756,000 to the victims as one-time assistance and compensation for lost property.

Last week, the number of dead increased when two people died in the hospital, bringing the overall earthquake death toll to 24,985. Some 12,469 people were hospitalized. According to reports, 11,075 have been discharged, and 950 are still under medical care.

Last week, the organized evacuation from the disaster areas continued. The number of evacuees reached 119,474, of which 74,509 are located in different sanatoriums in the country. According to the latest information, 363,567 citizens, not including the evacuated people, lost their homes. At present 60,000 are jobless. Presently, there are nearly 62,000 builders and 78 specialists from (?11) countries in the disaster areas.

Financial assistance continues to arrive from foreign countries and various regions of the USSR into account No 700412 and at the USSR Foreign Trade Bank. So far, R 1.313 billion [from within the USSR] and R 18,703,000 in foreign contributions has arrived.

The arrival of debris from the damaged cities is continuing. According to 1 March figures, 1,176,000 cubic meters of rubble have been removed. More than 19,000 cubic meters of tufa stone and 13,864 tonnes of scrap metal have been sorted out and handed over to the state for reprocessing. The roads and fields are being quickly cleared of debris which was dumped during the first days of the disaster. According to 2 March figures, 342,000 fubic meter of debris were removed from roads and fields. The repair and reconstruction work of the gas, sewage, and water networks is continuing in the cities damaged by the earthquake.

According to the latest figures, 2,370 railcars were due for unloading, of which only 1,620 were unloaded. Due to the fault of various enterprises and organizations more than 500 railcars were not unloaded.

The sanitary and epidemiological situation is stable.

Benefits for Azerbaijan Refugees

NC0203214889 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Statement by the Armenian Finance Ministry]

[Text] Yerevan, 1 march, ARMENPRES—During 1988, 190,000 citizens uprooted from the Azerbaijan SSR have been relocated for temporary settlement in the republic's rayons and cities.

Material and financial assistance has been provided for the uprooted population. By 1989 February, (R12.3) million had been paid as a one-time benefit to the refugees.

The people's deputies and the rayon and city ispolkoms in the temporary settlement areas for the refugees are continuing to distribute benefits. However, individual complaints reach us concerning delayed payments. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has proposed to correct existing shortcomings and finish paying the benefits as soon as possible.

5 Mar Update on Relief Work

NC0703140789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] The Press Information Center of the USSR Council of Ministers has informed our reporter that the "Baltic" has started its ocean voyage from distant Nicaragua carrying 225 tonnes of coffee, which the young republic has collected and dispatched to Armenia. At present, more than one hundred countries and a number of international organizations are assisting Armenia. Negotiations are on going with Armenia for providing timely assistance in reconstruction work. At the same time, parallel negotiations are being conducted with the FRG, Japan, Italy, and other countries on establishing joint projects based on (?mutual) trade.

According to the current figures, R2 million has been transferred to account number 700412 in the republic, bringing the total financial help to R1.318 billion. R19.590 million has been received from different countries; R63,000 was received today.

According to Armenian SSR Finance Ministry figures, R42.819 million was paid to the victims today as a one-time benefit and compensation for lost property.

Nearly 19,000 cubic meters of material from collapsed structures were removed today from the damaged cities; 360 tonnes of scrap metal were sorted out from the debris. So far, 19,066 tonnes of scrap metal and 19,134 cubic meters of tufa stone have been sorted out to use in future construction.

Repairs and reconstruction by communal networks are continuing in the disaster areas. (?Despite the onset of spring) the sanitary and epidemiological situation is stable.

* Gas Supplies Restored

WA18220051 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by M. Umanskiy: "The Warmth of the Native Hearth"]

[Text] Gas has started to flow to the Armenian cities and villages which suffered in the earthquake.

There is a flood of red on the enormous plan of the city which hangs in the miraculously preserved "Leninakan" hotel. Little red rectangles denote completely destroyed buildings. The most recent investigations of the USSR Gosstroy commission provided little comfort: not a single building more than three stories high was fit for occupancy.

The Leninakaners who survived have moved in with relatives, under the roofs of old houses which remained standing in spite of nature's destructive forces. Many of these now house seven to nine families each. Maximum efforts must be made to give people warmth and light in the shortest time possible.

"This is a most complicated task," states "Armgazprom" association general director G. Tataryan, "if you consider that the earthquake destroyed almost all of the gas economy. And this is 700 kilometers of gas pipelines, with many of the breaks covered with debris."

It is difficult to use the word "success" after everything that has happened. All the same, the area which has suffered such disaster has avoided massive fires and explosions: the gas flow from the north was covered over literally within seconds of the catastrophe. By the next day, thousands of tanks of liquified gas were being sent to the victims. Simultaneously, dozens of brigades set about repairing the network and clearing away debris. They worked day and night, digging with hand shovels until the heavy equipment arrived. And now, ten thousand buildings which were undamaged have already had their "blue flame" restored.

I had the opportunity to observe how the brigade headed by Valeriy Rybalko restored the gas to Teryan and Sundukyan Streets quite late in the evening. Gray-bearded Muguch Baktasaryan did not hide his tears. The house which his grandfather had built back at the turn of the century had survived; only the ceiling had settled slightly, requiring a log to shore it up. But what is a home without a warm hearth? A troubled Granter Tigranyan from Tumanyan Street approached. His small house had never had gas. It hadn't mattered; they always got along without it. But now there are twelve relatives living there. Next to the beds and cots are heaps of firewood and coal. How much longer would they live like that? "Have just a little more patience," welder Ye. Yegorov comforts him. "We'll hook you up for gas soon."

"With the restoration of gas, industrial production is picking up," states Leninakan Gorispolkom deputy chairman K. Ambartsumyan. "At the meat plant, they are already cooking and smoking sausage again. The bread factory has baked its first ton of Armenian lavash bread. Dozens of cafeterias, stores, clinics, laundries, cleaners and steam baths are functioning. Our main focus is children. One of the two remaining schools was among the first to have heat restored."

A small but powerful modular water heater blazes in the courtyard of the only unscathed hospital; it is the first of eight supplied from Siberia. A few quadrangles away, at the ruins of the ancient cathedral, adjusters from the "Soyuzgazmontazh" trust prepare to start up another one. The work, however, is frustrated by defective control units, sent from the "Staroruspribor" factory. Automated equipment is often smashed, or shipped partially, with back-ordered pieces.

But there are far more examples of conscientiousness and proper functioning. Today, gas pipelines to Stepanavan, Kalinino, Gugark, Amasii and many other rayon centers of the Spitak rayon have been restored. All the heating requirements of Kirovakan have been met.

"Although the first phase, the restoration of the destroyed gas economy, is nearing completion, much work lies ahead," noted USSR gas industry minister V. Chernomyrdin. "New pathways hundreds of kilometers long must be continued not only to the settlements which have suffered, but to those which many ministries and departments will build by government order. In the Lernut locality, near Leninakan, gas workers themselves will erect 180 multi-unit cottages with all the conveniences. A supplementary burden has been laid upon the branch in light of the re-equipping of the Armenian

atomic energy station and thermal power station. Its new fuel will be natural gas. Measures have been taken to accelerate the construction of the Northern Caucasus-Transcaucasus gas pipeline.

Earthquake Commission Examines Construction Materials
PM0603161789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Boosting Construction Materials Production. At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission"]

[Text] The capital construction being conducted in Armenia by collectives from the fraternal union republics which have come here to clear up after the earthquake last December is gaining pace. Thus, more than 50 apartment blocks have already been commissioned in just one of Leninakan's new districts. The requirement for construction material supplies to the republic—particularly stone, gravel, and sand—is growing everywhere.

Questions of considerably increasing output of local construction materials many times over and improving their quality were discussed at the routine CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission working session chaired 4 March by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Speeches by a number of leaders of Armenia's largest open-cut administrations and construction materials combines have shown that this sector is in a state of neglect. The plan target for tuff and sand mining and for gravel production in the first 2 months of this year were unfulfilled for the republic as a whole. There were many reasons for this: obsolete equipment, poor supply of spares, violations of security techniques, poor technological discipline....

The commission reminded the republic's Gosstroy, Gossnab, and Gosplan of the need to collaborate more accurately in supplying local construction industry enterprises with everything they need for stable and intensive work. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers should take measures to rapidly improve workers' working conditions and provide them with housing and consumer services. It was stressed that not all construction industry enterprise leaders feel responsible for the fate of the cities and villages that are being rebuilt in the republic, and that the sector's management system is clearly obsolete and needs urgent replacement.

Construction workers are complaining about the poor quality of ballast materials. This is largely a result of a shortage of the necessary technological equipment in open cuts. The commission demanded that strict monitoring of the fulfillment and dispatch of orders for cutters, compressors, and crushers be implemented—orders which are met by various plants around the country.

The commission listened to and approved the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building's program to increase output of stone-cutting machines. Difficulties arose over this because the only enterprise in the country producing these machines—the Leninakan plant—was completely destroyed. The plant collective intends to continue production of these currently extremely useful products. To that end, production of spares and components for final assembly as stone-cutting machines in Leninakan has now been started at 11 plants in other republics. Some 200 stone-cutting machines will be assembled there before the year is out.

Another way of increasing stone quarrying is to increase the efficiency of existing equipment. The USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building has been able to organize company servicing for all stone-cutting machines currently operating in Armenian open cuts. The commission reminded those present of the experience of Belorussia's rural construction workers who involved teams of rural inhabitants and cooperatives in the mining of gravel, stone, and sand.

The question of a new site for the Spitak Elevator Construction Plant, which was completely destroyed in the earthquake, was discussed. Seismologists have concluded that it would be impossible to rebuild the plant on its former site owing to its inadequate seismic reliability. Consequently, the elevator construction plant will be built on the site of the former sugar refinery, whose reconstruction, in turn, has been deemed inexpedient. The commission instructed the Spitak Rayispolkom and the management of the former elevator construction plant to familiarize the city's public extensively with the motives behind the adopted decisions and with the plans to find work for people.

Taking part in the commission's work were I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Armenia To Honor Airmen Killed in Disaster Relief
NC0203202489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has passed a resolution to immortalize the memory of the Soviet Army servicemen and Yugoslav airmen who died in air disasters.

As is known, 78 Soviet Army servicemen and crewmen died in an air disaster near Leninakan on 11 December 1988 while flying in for rescue work at the quake zone. On 12 December 1988, a Yugoslav aircraft carrying medical supplies for the quake victims crashed while approaching Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport, resulting in the death of all 7 crew members.

The tragic death of these men, who extended their hands of fraternal assistance to Armenia by fulfiling their internationalist duties, reverberates deeply in the hearts of the republic's workers and the whole population; it remains permanently in their memory.

The workers and the work collectives at the women's factory of the Nairid scientific-production amalgamation, Leninakan's meat-processing factory, the milk production combine of Dzhrarat, the canning factory of Oktemberyan, the Lenin Kolkhoz of Edzhmiatsin, and many other enterprises and organizations came forward with the suggestion to immortalize the victims by erecting monuments at the disaster sites financed by public contributions.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau acceded to the proposals of the republic's workers and collectives to erect monuments to the Soviet Army servicemen and Yugoslav airmen who died over Armenia in December 1988 while trying to help the quake victims. The Armenian Council of Ministers was advised to take measures to construct monuments for the victims financed by popular contributions and to declare a competition for the best monument design. A relevant account number will be opened at [name indistinct] bank for the financial contributions from the public and work collectives. The party gorkoms, raykoms, [name indistinct], and [name indistinct] Central Committee have been advised to undertake political and organizational work to support and propagate the initiative of the workers and collectives and to organize the contributions for erecting the monuments. The mass information and propaganda means must actively propagate the initiative of the workers and collectives and must keep the republic's population constantly informed about the progress of erecting the monuments and must use this patriotic initiative to strenghthen the internationalist education of the republic's population.

Earthquake in Kirghizia Reported 8 Mar
LD0903070589 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Frunze March 9 TASS—An earthquake occurred in Central Tien Shan Mountains inside the Jamantoo Range, Kirghizia, at 1543, Moscow time, on Wednesday [8 March].

The magnitude of the quake there was five points on the Richter scale. A 2-3 point tremor was felt in the town of Naryn which is situated 95 km away from the quake's epicentre. No one was hurt and buildings were not affected.

Veil of Secrecy Lifted on Kazakh Uranium Combine
PM0803151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Regime of Secrecy Lifted"]

[Text] Shevchenko, Guryev Oblast—The last "blank spot" has disappeared from the map of Kazakhstan. The regime of secrecy was lifted today from the activity of one of the largest enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building—the Caspian mining and metallurgical combine. This is one more step in the further democratization of Soviet society, an event ranking with the showing of our sophisticated military aircraft at international forums and with the reduction of closed border zones.

An important part was also played here by the further reorientation of the combine, created 30 years ago as a defense enterprise, toward civilian needs. By the year 2000 the output of the products of uranium and its processing will have dropped several times over. There is a corresponding increase in the proportion of articles for the needs of the national economy. Already the combine is one of the country's largest producers of mineral fertilizers. The production of precipitate for livestock and of preservatives for vegetables and feed is growing.

Umbrella Association for Kazakh Cooperatives Formed
PM2702134589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[E. Matskevich report: "Union of Cooperators"]

[Text] "Soyuz," an association of cooperatives, has been created in Kazakhstan.

At present the majority of such associations are formed on a territorial basis—in rayons, cities, and oblasts. "Soyuz," however, is prepared to accept any enterprise regardless of its "place of origin." Its members live on resources which they earn themselves by providing services.

"Soyuz" has around 500 cooperatives in it now. They include the country's first cooperative bank, in Chimkent, which already has a branch in Alma-Ata and subdivisions in Arkhangelsk, Riga, and Novosibirsk. It has opened its own managers' school. The "Soyuz" arbitration commission, which helps to resolve disputes between cooperatives and state enterprises and organs of power, has already shown its effectiveness.

Youth Paper Digest To Publish in Uzbek
PM0203155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Artemenko report: "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Uzbek"]

[Text] Tashkent—The readers of the Uzbek youth newspaper YESH LENINCHI ("Young Leninist") yesterday received an unusual issue of their favorite publication—journalists have for the first time published the central newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in...Uzbek.

"Our leading youth newspaper does not yet reach Uzbekistan's rural young people, who have a poor knowledge of Russian," YESH LENINCHI's Editor D. Razzakov said. "That is why we decided to carry out an unusual

experiment: to publish KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Uzbek every month on the basis of our newspaper. I am convinced that after reading its most interesting articles a few times in their native language, many people will also start reading the newspaper in Russian. But the main thing, I am convinced, is that yet another concrete step has been taken to strengthen the tried and true friendship between the Uzbek and Russian peoples."

The journalists did all the editorial work on this unusual issue. They selected the most important and interesting items in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and the weekly SOBESEDNIK for February. YESH LENINCHI's best writers translated them into Uzbek. Readers—and YESH LENINCHI has around half a million of them—approved of the first translated issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and supported the newspaper editorial collegium's decision to make such issues a regular event in future.

Buryat Language Gradually Regaining Status

LD0403114389 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Every well-developed nation is known to take great care of its language. Today we look at the changing status of the Buryat language, spoken in the east of this country.

Language problems came into focus during a public meeting in Ulan-Ude, the capital of the Buryat Autonomous Republic. It was held to nominate candidates for the new Soviet supreme governing body, to be elected later this month. One of the prospective candidates, a college professor of 40, was asked a question in his native Buryat. He seemed to understand it but replied in Russian. In the secret ballot that followed the professor failed to get nominated, unlike those Buryats who showed a good command of their language. All contenders had similar proposals on ways to promote ethnic cultures and ethnic relations in the republic. However, it was not very practical for a Buryat to discuss them in Russian. The fact that many Buryats, especially in the cities, have poor command of their language is their trouble rather than fault. Both in the Stalin era and in Brezhnev's period of stagnation Buryats' cultural monuments were destroyed, their customs declared outdated, their talents harrassed, and their language effectively excluded from the training programs.

With the advent of restructuring new forces took office in the republic, just as around the Soviet Union, to begin a turn to a healthy solution of the ethnic problems. The Buryat language has been reintroduced in schools. A children's magazine comes out in Buryat as well as in Russian. The traditional new year celebrations according to the lunar calender have been legalized and the republican paper has helped to start extramural courses of Buryat. Clearly this work has seen setbacks; some of the decisions taken have failed to be implemented so far. For instance, there are too few Buryat dictionaries and reference and phrase books. Understanding ethnic problems is evidently not enough. The point is to persistently work on them.

KRASNYY TUNDROVIK To Be Published in Nenets

LD0103150589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] After more than a quarter of a century, the printed word in their native language has returned to the native inhabitants of the Nenets tundra—deer breeders, fishermen and hunters—by way of a newspaper. A page of the newspaper of the Nenets autonomous okrug, the KRASNYY TUNDROVIK, will now be published periodically in the Nenets language. This year some books in Nenets will be published in local and central publishing houses. The native language has been heard on the okrug radio for some months.

* Illegal NKVD Activities, Rehabilitation Described

WA18300383 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 8

[Interview with Major General of Justice V. G. Provotorov, department chief at the Main Military Procurator's Office, by T. Menshikova and Yu. Solomonov: "The Moment of Truth"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The former employee of the prosecutor's office Ivan Timofeyevich Shekhovtsov, an active advocate of "the honor and dignity" of Stalin, is known today not only in our country but beyond its borders as well. (For example, recently he gave an interview to a newspaper as reliable as THE NEW YORK TIMES).

However, few people know that the adverse ruling by the court in a suit against SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and the writer Ales Adamovich brought by Shekhovtsov was due to the assistance of, if we may say so, colleagues of Ivan Timofeyevich, employees of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office.

When we first called the department chief, Maj Gen of Justice V. G. Provotorov, and told him about the suit brought by Shekhovtsov, Vladimir Grigoryevich was very brief: "Come over." This is how we got to see the file of the former investigator A. Khvat whom the plaintiff defended furiously along with Stalin. Thanks to the Main Military Procurator's Office, the court was given evidence which left no doubt: Khvat has committed scandalous violations of the law dooming innocent people to torment and death.

This is where the work on restoring historical and human justice proceeds unseen by the world—cases associated with rehabilitating the illegally convicted individuals, with the evil deeds of those who took part in fabricating the charges and in repressions.

It is our duty to give an account of this work. After all, people of Shekhovtsov's ilk believe that the discussion of Stalinism was foisted on our society by some idle journalists having no patriotic feelings and firm socialist convictions.

"What Shekhovtsov defends is not Stalinism but rather our history which our people has borne on its toiling shoulders. Everything aimed against the proletariat was supported by opportunists headed by Bukharin and other enemies. Now the history of Stalin is being vulgarized. Where have all those academicians and professors come from? After all, they did not toil servicing machine tools or in the field, and now this rotten intelligentsia has proliferated that much, and the parents of almost all of them have been subjected to repressive measures. Can all of them be rehabilitated to a man?"
[Signed] R. Vasilenko, V. Obrucheva, Simferopol.

[Interviewer] Vladimir Georgiyevich, there is this view that mainly the intellectuals were subjected to repressions, and then not all of them, but mainly the ones who have shown a degree of thinking differently.

[Provotorov] The material we are handling shows otherwise—all strata of the population, all social groups were subjected to repressions. Recently I looked into a case in which a Red Army enlisted man was sentenced for commenting on a letter he received at the front from his sister. She described how hard life in the village was becoming—there was hunger and cold, and on top of everything the kolkhoz chairman was self-willed. So, the Red Army man used a four-letter word on this account. Somebody in the trenches reported on him. The guy was "sent up the river." Can we say that he was against the Soviet power? He fought for it at the front!

People were tried for criticizing our shortcomings, for evaluating the difficulties objectively, for various emotional statements.

I remember that a lieutenant, a frontline officer, had survived the entire war, and was sent down to the wilderness for an irreverent remark about our truck, for comparing it to a can and saying that the Studebakers were way more powerful and better built. He got 5 years of imprisonment.

That is not the end yet. Dropping a portrait or bust of the leader was enough to be put into a prisoner convoy.... In my native town, there was a peasant, known to all, who hauled coal and wood to the homes of our people. He was locked up for a limerick. What kind of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda is this? And what kind of power is it if it can be undermined by a limerick? If we look at the legal aspect of this case, the application of article 58-10 of the RSFSR Penal Code does not bear criticism. I am certain that almost all people convicted by virtue of this article will be rehabilitated. I repeat that the repressions affected all social strata.

"At present, many authors say that collectivization was the reason for robbing rural areas of their peasant heritage, but they write nothing about the advancement in rural areas on the eve of the war. I worked at an agricultural exhibition where the halls were overflowing with abundant fruit and vegetables.... Didn't the kolkhozes ensure our victory in the war?"
[Signed] N. Kudryavtseva, Sverdlovsk.

"I am thinking about the manner in which the Stalinists turn our present-day failures and all difficulties to their advantage: supposedly, there is no order in our country! Can a normal person advocate that kind of 'order?' I remember everything very well. I remember children starving to death in 1932-1933. Anybody could end up on the list of kulaks. Our large and rich village of Gornostayevka in the Kherson area was literally reduced to poverty. We, the children, almost did not know what sugar was, and we only read about candy in the books. We came alive in summer, when cucumbers, tomatoes and solanaceae plants appeared. We had a cow, but the milk and the butter all went to cover the debts. I hear often now that under Stalin they kept reducing prices and there were foodstuffs in the shops. I want to say to that—perhaps, there were foodstuffs for some, but we, the peasants, got 'sticks' for putting in one day of labor in this paradise of Stalin, but paid taxes like landowners...."
[Signed] D. Kharchenko, worker, Odessa.

"Those who defend the leader should come to any village in the Ukraine and look at the mounds without crosses and monuments. Underneath lie entire families which have starved. We, the orphans, and these mounds testify against the defenders of the executioners. Hitler also killed nobody personally. Maybe we should find a defender for him too just because of that? I am no lawyer, I am a simple peasant woman, but I know black from white."
[Signed] K. Sivachenko, village of Veseloye, Zaporozhye Oblast.

[Interviewer] Vladimir Grigoryevich, it is your job to tell the black from the white, truth from lies, and slander from a fair accusation. Could you outline the scope of your responsibilities more precisely?

[Provotorov] The Main Military Procurator's Office and military prosecutors of the district level are involved in reviewing criminal cases against military personnel convicted for counterrevolutionary crimes in the period of the cult of personality, as well as those against civilians sentenced by military tribunals for espionage. This work is being done pursuant to the ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 16 January 1989. Naturally, recent resolutions of the party associated with the work on rehabilitation are a tremendous help to us.

Our work is difficult. We frequently reopen investigations on our own initiative or due to petitions by relatives who report some new circumstances of the case.

If such information surfaces we ask the investigative organs of state security to weigh all the pros and cons once again under the supervision of the prosecutor. Investigations are possible in cases when the individuals concerned are no longer alive. The truth is determined literally by bits and pieces, through documents, archives, and testimony of surviving witnesses and "comrades in misfortune." After all, there can be no justice for the living where there is none for the dead.

Let us say that in many criminal cases and prosecutor-supervised investigations the place of burial or the date of death of the person are not registered. It happens that we take a criminal case file, and there is a lot of material in it, but not a word on what happened to the person later and where he is buried. We should say that military investigators and those in the local organs of state security are trying to conduct thorough and diligent investigations, grasping at even the smallest leads in order to find the truth. So far, we have no complaints to make about any of the investigators handling rehabilitation work.

Is this a protracted process? Unfortunately, it is. We have to find a criminal case file in the archives. We have to send dozens of requests to various oblasts, sometimes to no avail, we have to look at the place the person was born, at the new place of residence. As a rule, we are successful in finding traces. The collective of the Central Archive of the USSR KGB is helping us greatly in this endeavor.

It is also complicated because the repressions proceeded on a mass scale. The conveyor belt of lawlessness moved on and on.... I have come across documents where it was said plainly: a new NKVD [People's Commisariat of Internal Affairs] chief arrived in the Far East and gave the assignment: to arrest 500 persons—village settlers, intellectuals, sailors.... Whether you like it or not, you've got to fill the quota. The lists of "enemies" were compiled by spheres of economic and commercial activity. The flywheel of repressions was set in motion with terrifying, surreal rationality. No trial, no investigation at all!

After all, what is a resolution of a "two- or three-[member panel]?" This is a sheet of paper divided vertically: on the left side—"[case] heard," on the right side—"ruled." They rule exactly as the investigator classifies the crime in the column "heard." Let's say Khvat reports someone with article 58-1b. The ruling is death by firing squad. The sentence is executed within 24 hours. The investigator was obligated to write his recommendation for a sentence. There were instances in which courts and military tribunals returned cases for additional investigations, in order to obtain new data. The file went back to the investigator, who kept it in his safe for a month or two, and then wrote that no new evidence had been uncovered, but the person arrested is socially dangerous anyway, and the case should be referred to the Special Panel. The sentence should be 10 years. The number was plucked out of the air....

[Interviewer] D. Volkogonov quotes the following statistic: in the years 1937-1939, 43,000 persons from among the command cadre of the Armed Forces were subjected to repressions. During the war, 600 generals died. Before the war, three times as many military men with ranks of that time equivalent to those of generals were liquidated. That is to say, the losses were monstrous. Have all of these people been rehabilitated? Has this work been facilitated by the ukase on cancelling the resolutions of unconstitutional organs? How many cases are being worked on at present?

[Provotorov] The most active period of rehabilitation came in the years 1954 through 1964. During these 10 years, over 500,000 persons were rehabilitated on the basis of materials prepared by the Military Procurator's Office. As is known, later this work began to wind down.

You have asked how many cases we are working on.... In 1988, the Military Prosecutor's Office rehabilitated 805 persons. This is little! Why? Because in the first 10 years after Stalin's death about 500 prosecutors were assigned to such work, and at present—40. Do you see the difference?

[Interviewer] How many years do you need to rehabilitate everybody with manpower like this?

[Provotorov] We will have to review several hundred thousand cases. We do not even know exactly how many, and this is impossible to estimate. In response to our requests, comrades from the KGB say that going through all the archives and counting is no easier than rehabilitating.... Hypothetically, we will have to "rake up" hundreds of thousands of cases. At our current manpower level, this can be done in 150 years! To be sure, we have raised the cadre issue, but it is being resolved slowly so far. One more thing. We should use computer technology in our work even now. We should commit the results of work on rehabilitation to computer memory. This is a priceless source for scientists, sociologists, historians....

New procedures for rehabilitation will not facilitate our work, that of prosecutors. We should still review the cases. Real criminals cannot be rehabilitated, this is illegal and immoral. However, it may be easier for the courts. After all, rehabilitation is now possible without a reconsideration of the sentence by the court, on the basis of a finding endorsed by the prosecutor. The organs of the prosecutor and the KGB will assume a large workload. They will have to work hard preparing documents for paying indemnity to the victims and issuing certificates of rehabilitation.

Incidentally, about indemnification for damages. Many people write to us about being deprived of their freedom, health, property and apartments for many years.... They lost their jobs, some did not manage to complete their education. Instead they worked on the Kolyma. So, you met your quotas, you slaved in the cold, and what do you get for it? After rehabilitation, such a person was paid his 2-month salary at the last place of employment, was given uninterrupted tenure of work, and the financial equivalent of the property confiscated was repaid.... However, this is peanuts if we take into account the 1961 reform. People say that they were locked up for 10 to 15 years, so why are they not paid anything for all the time of work in the Northern areas?

[Interviewer] And how do you answer this?

[Provotorov] What can I tell them? The law does not provide for anything else. Also, I can say: my dear, I sympathize, but I cannot help you in any way....

In general, we get quite a few letters, including those from foreigners. Last week, a letter came from a Czech. He asked point blank: are you rehabilitating Soviet citizens, or foreigners too? We rehabilitate foreign citizens as well, say, Communist International functionaries, exactly as we would Soviet citizens. Now there is a document on 110 persons—foreign citizens. Among them, there are members of the Communist International and those foreign citizens just working in our country whom we charged with espionage.

[Interviewer] What is your attitude toward Stalin's concept that class struggle intensifies with the progress of socialist construction? To what degree is this concept confirmed by the reality of the time which employees of the prosecutor's office are now studying?

[Provotorov] I cannot confirm the validity of this concept. This is not apparent from the content of cases.

"Stalin was in a situation with no way out. The situation in our country called for actions. Stalin was a great man capable of assuming responsibility."
[Signed] B. Cherkasov, Ivanovo.

"Weren't there quite a few saboteurs, counterrevolutionaries and spies? Stalin is guilty of relinquishing control of the NKVD, which Beriya took advantage of. However, throughout the existence of the Soviet power the capitalists would not leave us alone: there was Khasan, Khalkhin-Gol, war with the Finns...."
[Signed] Ye. Adamenko, settlement of Kirovskiy, Maritime Kray.

[Interviewer] Still, how do you tell real spies from those trumped-up?

[Provotorov] Based on materials, on records of interrogation, because we do not see the people. Everything is done on the basis of papers and testimony. However, the papers are quite eloquent. Everything is clearly seen—when somebody lies, when he slanders himself, and how truthful testimony given at confrontations is. For specialists, this is quite expressive and eloquent information. There are objective attributes by which a real crime can be told from a falsification.

[Interviewer] Were there many real spies, enemies discovered in the 1930's?

[Provotorov] I have seldom come across such [cases]. The 1940's are a different matter altogether. There were policemen, and punitive unit soldiers, and those who joined the legions voluntarily. There are those who went to labor battalions from camps. In return for this, the Germans put them on rations and gave various privileges—150 marks a month two cigarettes a day, and clothing fit to wear. There were people who were starving in the camps and who opted for a labor army. Meanwhile, they were the ones to build fortifications, restore bombed-out airfields, and serve in some kind of auxiliary troops—that is, reinforced the military potential of the enemy to a degree. These people were punished and, as those aiding the enemy, are not to be rehabilitated.

[Interviewer] The opinion still lingers, and is advocated by some publications, that anyone who was taken prisoner is a traitor.

In 1955, our citizens who had collaborated with the occupiers, and in particular Vlasov's soldiers, were pardoned, but they only began to talk about the prisoners after the 20th Congress. That is to say, it turns out that Hitlerite collaborators, including those who served in voluntary labor units, were forgiven before the innocent people were?

[Provotorov] Amnesty and rehabilitation are two different things. Being amnestied means being pardoned. The recent ukase outlines clearly who does not qualify for rehabilitation because it is not a pardon but a restoration of justice and acknowledgement that the person is not guilty of anything and a victim of arbitrary rule. Most of the prisoners of war were not traitors, and we are raising the issue of their rehabilitation.

"There were many things I did not know when I was young. However, I learned everything when in 195? I came on a Komsomol referral to develop the Far North! I saw the zones, the barracks, the prisoners and the guards with dogs. I met those who had already served their time and stayed on in northern lands. I did not doubt for a moment that they are guilty of nothing; such people could not be 'enemies of the people.' They told me horrible stories about the camps, about their prison wardens. Some of the former NKVD personnel also 'ended up' in our area. After all that I have heard I could not talk to such people peacefully. Many of them did not suffer a bit after the 20th Congress. Of course, they could

not but worship their idol who provided for their well-being at the expense of the downtrodden and the oppressed. What would these advocates of Stalin say if they were to switch places with their innocent victims?" [Signed] R. Chernova, labor veteran, Ukhta, Komi ASSR.

[Interviewer] What about those who pronounced sentences and falsified criminal cases?

[Provotorov] It is known that most of them were among NKVD personnel, that is, they were servicemen. Therefore, offices of military prosecutors are handling, and have handled in the past, especially vigorously after the 20th Congress, investigations of cases associated with their unlawful activities and participation in illegal repressions.

In particular, an investigation has now been re-opened of the case of a colonel, former NKVD employee, who started working for the organs in 1937. Initially, he was the commissioner of the NKVD for Northern Osetia, he started out as a lieutenant. Then he climbed, as they say, "over corpses..." In Osetia, he took an active part in the destruction of Komsomol and party cadres. Incidentally, the investigation of the case of Betal Kalmykov, first secretary of the Osetia Oblast Committee, and his comrades was continued in Moscow by a team of which A. G. Khvat was also a member.... Vladimir Ananyevich Boyarskiy moved up to the position of deputy chief of the department of investigations of the Moscow Oblast NKVD which he assumed in 1940. For just 3 years, this is impressive advancement. In 1941 the war began, and he became chief of counterintelligence of Army SMERSh [Death to Spies special military unit]. This lasted throughout the war, and he advanced to colonel!

In 1956, he was expelled from the party by the KPK [Party Control Commission] of the CPSU Central Committee for abuses, violation of the law and falsification of criminal cases which resulted in many victims. The Main Military Procurator's Office investigated a criminal case which was discontinued because of the expiration of the statute of limitations.

[Interviewer] Will "the statute of limitations" interfere with today's investigation?

[Provotorov] You will be surprised, but this time we reopened the investigation...on the request of Boyarskiy himself. The situation is such that, after the publication of the article "Not to Be Forgiven" in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI which named Boyarskiy as one of the former NKVD investigators who avoided punishment because of the statute of limitations, employees of the institute where Boyarskiy (incidentally, a doctor of technical sciences) has worked all these years made noise. They said that they wanted a review. If the newspaper published correct information, then they do not want to work in the same collective with a person who has compromised himself that much in the past. A meeting was held to which the journalist Ye. Albats and I were invited. I took along the materials of the criminal case against Boyarskiy which was initiated by the Main Military Procurator's Office in the 1950's. In my statement, I said that Boyarskiy had been writing complaints and asking to be familiarized with the materials of the case for 3 years. This is not called for by the law. At one point, he was familiarized with the materials. This was 20 years ago, and there are no grounds for him to be given these materials now. However, I said in the same statement that Boyarskiy knew full-well that such "reading" will do nothing for him. He should petition the court if he is to be exonerated. After all, he was himself saying that only the court could say whether he was guilty or not. Recently, Boyarskiy sent us a letter in which he wrote bluntly—consider this a request to refer the case to court!

[Interviewer] What if the court says that he is guilty?

[Provotorov] This is what justice is all about.

[Interviewer] However, Khvat did not want to take the matter to court.

[Provotorov] Khvat is silent. Gorodnichenko, another satrap, is also a part of this case, and he is also silent, he does not want any reviews. Boyarskiy alone is spoiling for a fight. What is he hoping for? It is difficult to judge his motives. In the past, he was arrested together with Gorodnichenko, they were to be tried. However, soon after that the Fundamental Criminal Law of the USSR and Union Republics was adopted which set the statute of limitations, and they were released from custody and from responsibility.... A regular criminal is sentenced to be shot for a premeditated murder, and what in this case? Many lives were snuffed out, the lives of wives and children were destroyed and mangled. There is the following story in the file. A family of teachers with a 12-year old daughter lived in a good apartment, they had well-made furniture and a large library. Boyarskiy arrested the husband and the wife. They died at his interrogations. Simply put, he beat them to death, and entered their deaths as being due to heart attacks. Then he and his wife took over the apartment of this family, and threw the girl out. Boyarskiy appropriated the property, and tossed the child out into the street. I met this greying, imposing man, very confident of himself and quite prosperous.

Boyarskiy brought along about 50 of his "defenders" to the meeting. There was a lot of noise and commotion. One person was expressing his indignation very loudly—I am a candidate of sciences from a neighboring academy institute; what is going on, who gave the prosecutor's office the right to decide whether a person is guilty? Does not our constitution say that only the court can establish guilt? He gave me sort of angry stares.... I nodded in response—he was right, but not quite. According to the law, the organs of inquiry, the investigator, the prosecutor's office have a right to discontinue criminal cases

even if guilt has been proven. If an accused believes that an investigator charged him unlawfully, that he is not guilty of anything, he is entitled to take the matter to court. In this event, we must refer this case for trial. This is what we will do with the Boyarskiy case.

So, at this meeting I showed one of the records of interrogation at the request of his colleagues. After all, people at present want to make sure personally and to familiarize themselves with original documents. They asked me to show at least one document on which there is a signature of Boyarskiy. I opened the volume of the criminal case and it happened to be on the record of interrogation of Agnayeva, a schoolteacher who was illegally arrested by Boyarskiy personally. He tried to beat out of her testimony against her husband. She "confessed" belonging to a counterrevolutionary organization herself but categorically refused to bear false witness against her husband. Incidentally, by that time her husband had already died during interrogations.... Then Boyarskiy made her do "the stand-up routine." She remained standing for several days, and her feet swelled. It was frightening to even look at her, as two NKVD school cadets later testified who at the time were sort of apprenticed with Boyarskiy.... Later they took her to a shed, tied her to the wall by her hands pinioned behind her back, and tied her head down with her long braids—and this is how she died in a couple days. I read this record to them.... Boyarskiy, meanwhile, was at the podium swearing that he was nothing else but a "seksot" [secret informant]; he supplied information, and the NKVD made its own decisions.... At this point, I produced the interrogation record for the collective, questions and answers.... There was all this nonsence in her answers about terrorist acts against the proletariat which this woman had supposedly been preparing. Then there was an altogether false report on her sudden death because of a ruptured heart vessel. Incidentally, the physician admitted that she had written the death certificate for Agnayeva taking dictation from Boyarskiy. We can talk like that about any episode in this file.

[Interviewer] What was the impression of the audience in general?

[Provotorov] You know, they were overwhelmed. Proponents of Boyarskiy began to leave the auditorium in silence.

[Interviewer] Could you give us the data on how many such cases have been or are handled by the military prosecutor's office? At present, it is necessary to talk about it not only in order to restore justice with regard to the victims, but also in the name of the rule of law as a whole.

[Provotorov] There is no such special rubric in our statistics. However, in 1988, when work on rehabilitation got under way with particular vigor, I encountered many materials of this nature showing illegal practices of NKVD investigators. Many of them have already been punished, convicted, shot.... Many were demoted to privates—even generals, were deprived of all benefits and privileges....

[Interviewer] Were many criminal cases against investigators discontinued?

[Provotorov] Not many. Mostly they were discontinued because of the statute of limitations. These were cases in the years 1957 and 1958, when the statute of limitations was established, and the new criminal code was adopted. Most of the satraps were found out and punished.

"I propose to begin broad-scale court proceedings against Stalin and Stalinist heritage. There can be no statute of limitations. They did not only kill off the elite of the nation, they also discredited the idea, infected the party with red-tapism. At Nuremberg, not only a gang of executioners was on trial, but also fascism.... We need a trial, we need a sentence such as prescribed by law. After all, there have already been attempts to rehabilitate Stalin under Brezhnev. What guarantee do we have that the genie will not burst out of the bottle?

"Stalin killed Vavilov with Khvat's hands. However, Khudenko was also killed by Stalin many years after the death of the latter. What guarantee do we have that his long arms will not reach from the world beyond for other of our best minds? I am in favor of a trial."

[Signed] Andrey Vasilets, serviceman.

[Interviewer] What is your opinion of this, at least from the purely human standpoint? Do you believe that condemnation on moral grounds alone would suffice, or do we have "to give everyone his due?" Should we cancel the statute of limitations in line with its suspension for Nazi criminals guilty of crimes against humanity?

[Provotorov] The statute of limitations exists, there is no question about that. The absence of the statute of limitations will not make us more humane or tolerant. On the other hand, I do not at all justify the investigators who conducted their barbaric work. Many demand that punishment for them be severe and inescapable. And still.... Justice takes into account the conditions under which a particular act was committed. After all, in many cases there was no investigation at all. They just compiled the lists, threw together the paperwork for "the two-and three[-member panels]"—and sent people on in prisoner convoys. Sometimes the superiors demanded that investigators compile such lists. As far as the trial of Stalin is concerned, the principle of the law applies here that a dead person cannot be tried. A case involving a dead person may only be started for the purpose of his rehabilitation. There are no such "circumstances prompting rehabilitation" in Stalin's case. Incidentally, the Nuremberg tribunal did not try Hitler; only the Nazi criminals alive at the time faced it. The demand to try Stalin now is not justified from the legal point of view.

As far as various trials by the public are concerned, this is up to the public, but these court proceedings will have nothing to do with the administration of justice.

Some of our legal scientists believe that we can eliminate the barrier such as the "statute of limitations" when butchers from the OGPU [United State Political Administration], the NKVD and the MGB [Ministry of State Security] are involved if we extend to them the validity of the convention on crimes against humanity. In this event, we will be supposedly able to return to these cases, find those taking part in repressive measures guilty, give them at least suspended sentences, and thus express our attitude toward their crimes. Other lawyers are categorically against such trials. There is but one argument—this will sow in our society new seeds of intolerance which is already abundant. After all, the repressive syndrome rooted in the public consciousness is part of the Stalinist heritage. Imagine what kind of nourishing environment this will create for bringing back suspicions, enmity, the complex of "the fifth column," if you will. Incidentally, "Memorial" also adopted a resolution calling for tolerance. I believe that the court of history and moral condemnation are sufficient. Our society should know the people who besmirched themselves by taking part in repressive measures.

"My father, Aleksey Nikiforovich Vorobyev, was arrested on the night of 3 July 1937.... At the time, I was 12 years old, and we lived at the station of Tayga in Kemerovo Oblast, where my father worked as a railway repairman. Cattle-car trains jampacked with people went by day and night.... The guards did not let the adults near the train, but they did not stop us children. We ran along the trains and shouted—is our father there? Having heard the voices of children, the prisoners began to yell from the cattle cars: children, tell the adults that we are being tormented here for nothing. Later, we stopped going to the station because they notified mother that our father was sentenced 'without the right to maintain correspondence.' And the trains kept coming and going....

"My father was a real Bolshevik! If only they who perished in the camps knew that not even their children but their grandchildren will rise to defend their honor...."

[Signed] Z. Vorobyeva, Nevelsk, Sakhalin Oblast.

[Provotorov] Let us rise to defend their honor jointly. After all, the great cleansing endeavor initiated by our party is aimed at rehabilitating all those who are not guilty. Honesty and truth, rather than "an eye for an eye," are the best antidote and guarantee that the past will not recur.

[Photo caption] More than 500 delegates from 103 cities and localities in our country have gathered in Moscow for the founding conference of the "Memorial" historical and educational society. At present, hundreds of thousands of Soviet people already belong to it and do everything possible in order to give an account of the lawless acts committed in the time of Stalinism.

May our unceasing pain and grief, our collective memory become the cornerstone in the pedestal of a memorial to those who became prisoners and victims of the camps and prisons of the GULAG [Main Administration of Collective Labor Camps].

Moscow Internal Affairs Briefing on Racketeering

PM0203165089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 26 Feb 89 p 2

["A.K." report: "A Touchstone of Cooperation"]

[Text] The rise of a mafia in this country is popularly attributed to the emergence of cooperatives. It is still far from surrendering, despite the introduction of articles into the Criminal Code to fight it. During the latest briefing for the press at the Internal Affairs Chief Administration of the Moscow City Soviet, information about more cases of extortion using torture was presented. For example, racketeers demanded 30,000 roubles from a member of a cooperative and tortured him, burning the man's body with a hot iron. The racketeers eventually went away taking the man's girl friend along whom they offered to release for a ransom. In a separate incident, another cooperative member was stabbed with a knife in the presence of his wife to extort money. The victim refused to lodge a written complaint with the militia. One of the journalists present coldly remarked that "he evidently still has enough money".

The militia, as the guardian of the society's interests, shares the society's prejudices, naturally enough. Therefore, consider such comments, which accompany the majority of reported cases: "notice the amounts of money involved in cooperatives' business" or "it looks like a lot of crimes are related to cooperatives". These were comments relating to cases of torture.

Nevertheless, administration spokesmen have claimed in most definite terms to fully support the cooperative movement ("meaning only lawfully operating cooperatives"). The State Traffic Inspectorate even expressed its readiness to make a contract with cooperatives for manufacturing road signs. It has been said that if we replace state-run cafes and public washrooms with cooperative ones this may well be a sign of possible corruption among state officials rather than indicating the rise of healthy competition beneficial to the public.

Countering the spread of crime demands a serious effort from the law-enforcement bodies. However, the fact that we need such increased effort is depressing.

MVD Reports Juvenile Delinquency Rates Increasing

PM0703142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[R. Viktorov report: "At The USSR MVD. 'Amusement' on the Streets"]

[Text] Moscow—Alarming figures attesting to the ever-increasing rise in the crime rate over the last 2 months were cited yesterday at a briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD].

"Internal affairs and prosecutor's office organs have registered 306,000 crimes—an increase of 75,000 in comparison with the same period last year," Major General of the Internal Service A. Smirnov, chief of the USSR MVD Main Information Center, pointed out. "Some 91 percent of the overall increase in crime is made up of theft of personal and state property. And 49,000 crimes have been committed by people when drunk. But the increase in crime among minors arouses particular concern."

Senior MVD workers' concern is understandable. An increase in juvenile delinquency has been recorded in 14 union republics and 50 regions of the RSFSR. The "upsurge" came in January when the alarming figure for the level of crime among minors rose by 55 percent.

Too much has been said recently about the so-called "Kazan phenomenon" and the wild rampage of juvenile delinquency in the capital of the Tatar ASSR. Yet this state of affairs with regard to juvenile delinquency does not only exist in Kazan. It was pointed out at the briefing that 10 territories in the RSFSR, including Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk, Kemerovo, and Irkutsk Oblasts, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Leningrad, and Moscow account for 80 percent of the increase in all crime among minors.

"Juvenile delinquency is part of the general crime rate," Lieutenant General (Internal Service) N. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, pointed out. "It is hard for adolescents to find work. Recreational activities for young people are a source of concern, because they have become more and more costly recently. Groups are operating badly. There are now 250,000 minors with no involvement in group activities, who are forced to seek 'amusement' on the streets."

Failings in Work To Combat AIDS Criticized

PM2302134589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 26

[N. Kharitonova report: "Against the Dread Disease. All-Union Extraordinary Antiepidemic Commission Discusses Effectiveness of Measures To Prevent Spread of AIDS"]

[Text] The problem of the incidence of AIDS is widely discussed today in the world's press. This is no accident—the disease is spreading rapidly around the world. Whereas at the beginning of 1988 73,747 cases of the disease were registered in 129 countries of the world, in January 1989 the figure had risen to 139,886 cases in 144 countries. Three Soviet citizens have died of the disease. A total of 515 carriers of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus have been detected in the USSR.

How is our country conducting epidemiological monitoring of AIDS? Donors, patients in whom screening is clinically indicated, and members of high-risk groups are being screened at 380 diagnostic laboratories set up at blood transfusion centers and major clinical hospitals and hospitals specializing in infectious diseases. Infected foreign citizens are subject to deportation from the USSR, and infected Soviet citizens are subject to outpatient observation. When AIDS antibodies are detected in a donor's blood, he is barred for life from giving blood.

Our country was the first in the world to adopt legislation aimed at protecting the population's health and preventing infection with the AIDS virus. Measures are being developed to prevent and treat the disease, and other research on the AIDS problem is being carried out. However, the commission session stressed that ministry and departmental efforts to prevent the spread of the virus in the country cannot be deemed satisfactory. The country's population is unprotected. Substantial omissions and shortcomings in work, starting with basic research and ending with practical public health work, are opening up the "floodgates" to the infection.

The USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems are systematically failing to meet targets for the production of disposable blood transfusion equipment, syringes, needles, equipment for diagnostic laboratories, and AIDS testing systems. Last year the Soviet health service received only 49 million of the planned 100 million disposable syringes; moreover, 28.5 million of them were dispatched to the medical network without needles and are merely cluttering up storerooms.

It is not possible to extend AIDS screening for the population, owing to the lack of diagnostic apparatus. For instance, it is obvious to specialists that all Soviet citizens who had long duty tours abroad in the early eighties should be screened in this way. At present it is hard to screen even those people who returned from abroad in 1985-1987.

The commission members also voiced serious complaints with regard to scientists. Having elaborated an interedepartmental state program to prevent the spread of AIDS in our country in 1987-1995, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the USSR Ministry of Health were unable to orient scientific collectives toward resolving promising research tasks. A most important state program was effectively reduced to mechanically linking the private

interests of individual scientific collectives and researchers. Soviet scientists' substantial lag in this sphere is in many respects attributable to science's poor material and technical base and the inadequate financing of research into all areas of the AIDS problem.

"There is not a single laboratory in the country today that provides the requisite level of protection for people working with the virus. Specialists refuse to go and work there," V.I. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, said.

The USSR Academy of Sciences was criticized for failing to ensure the preferential development of basic research into the AIDS problem.

"We will only be able to protect our people against this dread disease if we give up forever the flippant notion that AIDS can spread anywhere but in our country," USSR Health Minister Academician Ye.I. Chazov said in conclusion. "The danger, unfortunately, is such that in about 10 years the problem of AIDS in our country may rise to the level of the Chernobyl tragedy."

The commission members advocated creating in the very near future a USSR government commission with emergency powers to coordinate the activity of ministries, departments, and also union republic councils of ministers on questions of AIDS prevention.

First Year of Mental Health Reform Viewed

PM0103133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Ye. Barabash report: "Psychiatry: Law And Practice"]

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists took place at NOVOSTI, entitled "Soviet Psychiatry: Lessons of Restructuring." The following took part in it: N. Zharikov, president of the Soviet Society of Psychiatrists; Yu. Aleskandrovskiy, head of the center for the study of borderline cases; V. Yegorov, head of the USSR Ministry of Health drugs and psychiatric service; and V. Tikhonenko, Moscow's chief psychiatrist. The discussion centered on the statute on the procedure for administering psychiatric aid adopted exactly 1 year ago.

Soviet psychiatrists have set about drastically cutting down the cases warranting urgent hospitalization without the patient's consent. A person can only now be forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital without his consent if he presents a direct danger to those around him or indeed to himself (that is, through suicide attempts). In this connection it is proposed to reduce the number of hospital patients by 30 percent, mainly by discharging schizophrenics who are able to control their behavior in society on their own. There has already been a 12-percent decrease in the number of people hospitalized in Moscow (81,000 and 71,000 in 1987 and 1988 respectively). Under the statute, prosecutor's office organs will establish supervision of psychiatrists' actions. Patients will have a chance to appeal in court against forcible hospitalization. Ten cases of this nature have been heard in court over the last year.

The procedure for outpatient registration is changing radically. Since 1 March 1988 60,000 people in Moscow have been discharged from registration and the list of symptoms warranting initial recommendation for registration has shortened. Only patients who pose a real threat to people around them will remain on the register. At the same time counseling aid will be considerably extended. Thus outpatients clinics will gradually become psychiatric health centers.

There will be fewer hospitals where patients are completely cut off from society, and sanatorium-style wards will be set up with a so-called "open door regime."

Party Handling of 13 Feb Bus Strike Questioned

PM2802121389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[S. Sorochan report followed by correspondent A. Shcherbo postscript: "They Came.... Ivanovo Drivers' Demands Were Not Accepted, and They Did Not Go To Work. Why Does the Komsomol Organizer Get the Blame?"]

[Text] On the morning of 13 February the people of Ivanovo testified to, at first glance, an odd operation conducted by State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration personnel: Militiamen putting the citizens lined up at the bus stops into the first vehicle that passed by. The townspeople, hurrying to work in the rush hour, could not understand what was going on, where all the buses had disappeared to. It turned out that the city bus drivers had not been on the road since 0330.

Driver Sergey Gundarov, an "Afghan" and member of the motor transport depot labor collective council, had his own view:

"The administration forced us to take this extreme measure...."

As of the beginning of the year the enterprise should have switched to the new labor payment system, which was believed by the administration to be advanced but which the drivers described simply as leveling. The question of introducing the new system was raised twice at the labor collective council, and twice the decision was not adopted. As some young workers asserted at the meeting, the decision to hold a meeting of the entire collective was spontaneous. They feared that the administration would arbitrarily introduce the new labor payment system from 1 February. A speech made at the meeting by T. Valentyuk, secretary of the enterprise Komsomol committee, an economist by training, was met with approval. Tatyana suggested not rejecting the new labor payment system altogether but delaying its introduction, since the workers themselves saw no

advantage in it. But B.N. Mashnin, deputy general director for economics at the "Ivavtotrans" association, had hardly started his speech, attempting once again to explain the advantage of the new labor payment system, than those present left the hall in protest....

On 10 February at a trade union conference an enterprising group of bus drivers handed the administration a letter suggesting inter alia a return to the old forms of labor payment. In addition, the leaders demanded a halving of the apparatus, the abolition of the group computer center, and the payment of all the engineering and technical services in direct relation to the drivers' work.... The main point was that the letter indicated a deadline when the workers wanted to receive the administration's answer: On 13 February at 0330—that is, the time the first bus sets out....

The day before, many drivers did not go home after their evening shift. By 0300 even those who were supposed to have the day off had arrived. Only intercity and a few suburban buses set out. All 130 vehicles meant to serve the city on the first shift remained in the depot. By 0800 A.F. Gordiyenko, first secretary of the party gorkom, the leaders of the "Ivavtotrans" association, and representatives of a number of the city's public organizations were already at the bus depot. The leaders accepted a suggestion to leave delegates in the hall, and the rest could go out on the road.

The administration was forced to meet all the workers' demands almost completely. I use the word "forced" on purpose. The temporary concession is quite obvious. "The drivers had no reason. They get R500 each; what else do they need?" the enterprise leader wondered.

The party gorkom bureau met the same eveing to discuss the question of "Serious Shortcomings in Organizational and Political Education Work in the Collective of the No 1 Passenger Automotive Transport Production Association" and acknowledged that work as unsatisfactory. The bureau severely punished the leaders of the No 1 Passenger Automotive Transport Production Association and the "Ivavtotrans" Association for failing to avert the crisis even though it had every opportunity to do so. [Sorochan ends]

[A. Shcherbo postscript] The correspondents' center got a phone call from Ivanovo the other day: Ivanovo party gorkom had carefully analyzed the situation and issued strict reprimands to S. Chernykh, general director of the "Ivavtotrans" Association, and N. Zhuravlev, chief of the bus pool at the No.1 Passenger Automotive Transport Production Association, to be entered in their records. Other leading personnel also received party punishments. The No.1 Passenger Automotive Transport Production Association party committee held a much longer meeting than the gorkom bureau. But it could find no better employment than to vote for the expulsion from the party of Komsomol committee secretary Tatyana Valentyuk, for the "offense" of defending the interests of the rank and file workers rather than the management. After this, can it really be considered that the "matter is closed"?

Italian Paper Has 'Accurate' View of Pamyat

LD2802100789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] The Italian newspaper, LA STAMPA has published an interview by one of the leaders of the Pamyat group, Dmitriy Vasilyev. So that you don't think, comrades, that LA STAMPA did this out of sympathy for the ideas of Pamyat, and that fans of Pamyat have emerged in Western Europe, I shall cite the words of the editorial preface to the interview.

[Tsvetov reads from script] Pamyat is the cause of tension and great Russian chauvinism, and also of nationalist and antisemitic sentiments.

The appraisal, as you see, is accurate and impartial, but before acceding to it, I want, in the interest of justice, to indicate what I totally agree with in Vasilyev's interview. I agree with him that the land should belong to the person who tills it—but without the right of sale; that freedom of conscience is necessary; and that it is necessary to protect the environment.

However, reading the interview further, I was increasingly inclined to wonder whether these correct statements were nothing other than fig leaves to conceal the true program of the Pamyat group, which LA STAMPA newspaper unequivocally described as the Russian reaction.

Indeed, here are a few of Vasilyev's maxims:

[Tsvetov reads from script] The Soviet press, from IZVESTIYA to OGONEK, is involved in an international plot. In his teaching, Marx concentrated the ideas of the masons. Disaster will befall the Soviet Union if it doesn't wake up and submit as before to the rod of the party.

There is hardly any point in continuing further. With regard to Vasilyev's comments about an international plot, the LA STAMPA correspondent pointed out to him: [Tsvetov reads from script] All fascist movements of the world have made reference to this sad theory.

In connection with Vasilyev's interview, I recalled the notes of the chief of the Moscow secret police department, Zavarzin. For 20 years he served in the special

police corps, and, running away to Paris after the revolution, wrote his memoirs in which he had decided, it appears, to remain honest particularly since the special police corps had sunk into oblivion and there was no one to fear.

In his memoirs he wrote in particular: The code of morals which has established itself in Peterburg is such that an extreme right-wing chauvinist, always a fervent antisemite, encounters the most favorable attitude toward himself from the minister to the policeman inclusive. For this reason, such elements operate unpunished and confuse any kind of degenerate dregs of the intelligentsia and the mob.

In as far as the gendarme Zavarzin made wide use of the antisemitic Black Hundreds, then their make-up was already well-known to him—degenerate dregs of the intelligentsia and the mob. He made use of them for the following purpose: [Tsvetov reads from script] The social democratic sedition had spread and the secret police department was gradually losing control of the situation, Zavarzin wrote of the situation in Russia in 1905. The help of society was needed. In it we could rely with assurance on the chauvinists, and above all, on the antisemites.

Indeed, we know from history that pogroms were held under the slogans: Beat the Jews and the students; beat the Jews and the rebels; beat the Jews and the members of zemstvos.

Why am I speaking about all this? After all, LA STAMPA unambiguously defined the position of Pamyat as fascist.

But for those people who have a condescending attitude toward Pamyat, and even allow them to hold meetings like the one recently organized in Moscow opposite the Ostankino television tower, and for the raykom comrades who allowed the meeting, I will cite the last question by LA STAMPA newspaper to Vasilyev and his reply. [Tsvetov reads from script] Do you think that it will be possible to change the power which now exists? Vasilyev: Of course, but everything has its season.

NOVYY MIR Publishes Orwell's 1984

LD2802101189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] NOVY MIR has started publishing a significant foreign literary work, which until recently was not available to readers in our country. This is George Orwell's novel "1984". It is considered to be one of the most widely-read serious books of the 20th century. The novels's genre is utopian, or rather anti-utopian. It is both philosophical prose and a social manifesto.

Incidentally, a short note on George Orwell and his novels, written by Viktoriya Chapilkova, has been published in issue No 8 of the newspaper KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE.

Economic

* Value of Uninstalled Equipment Grows in 1988

WA18200243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 5 First Edition

[Response to letters to the editor: "It Lies as 'Dead Weight'"]

[Text] *Readers S.P. Avilov from Novosibirsk, V.G. Fedotov from Omsk, and others have asked about the equipment, including imported equipment, which has for years been collecting dust and becoming obsolete in warehouses or is getting ruined under the open skies. You see, these machine tools and machinery could have been producing products we need. How do matters stand with equipment usage in various sectors of the national economy?*

According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, as of 1 January 1989 our country had accumulated uninstalled equipment amounting to more than R14 billion, including imported equipment valued at over R4.6 billion. And last year, the figure increased 11 and 8 percent, respectively.

It may seem to be a paradox, but it is a fact: During 1988, warehouse stores of uninstalled equipment increased by R1.4 billion in capital construction, at a time when shortages in delivery of equipment to other sectors of the national economy amounted to R1.8 billion. In other words, some places have a shortage, others surpluses.

Although the enterprises of a number of union ministries (Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, Ministry of the Gas Industry, Ministry of the Timber Industry, Ministry of Power and Electrification, Ministry of the Coal Industry, Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and others) have managed to reduce the amount of uninstalled equipment, most of the other ministries last year worsened the already troubled situation with the use of purchased machinery, machine tools, mechanisms, automatic lines, and robots....

The stocks of uninstalled imported equipment increased in 1988 by R347 million, including the equipment supplied by capitalist countries in the amount of R84 million. The deadlines for turning over for installation imported and domestic large industrial equipment are constantly being violated by our enterprises, which entails penal sanctions amounting to tens of millions of rubles. In addition, out of 280 sets of imported equipment valued at R2.7 billion stuck in warehouses, the warranty periods of foreign firms have expired on 89 of the sets.

During the past year, only about 43 percent of the domestic and imported equipment uninstalled as of 1 January 1988 was turned over for installation.

The Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building set its own record with a "minus" sign last year, increasing the stocks of uninstalled equipment by R430

million, or 39 percent. Included in that amount is imported equipment valued at more than R282 million standing in warehouses. For example, at the Taganrog Combine Plant, an Italian automatic line valued at R10.7 million has not been used since 1985.

A substantial surplus of equipment also formed last year at warehouses of enterprises and construction sites of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy—in the sum of R355 million (including R230 million worth of imported equipment). These indicators are, respectively, R134 and R109 million for the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and R121 and R7 million for the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee...

Even though many enterprises overfulfill their plans for installation of new equipment (overall, the value of equipment installed increased by 118 percent, including imported equipment which increased by 138 percent), the situation at hand requires more decisive actions. The increase in "stocks" of uninstalled or unneeded equipment is taking place largely due to the scattering of capital investments over numerous projects, due to exceeding reasonable norms of construction deadlines, and due to their lack of coordination with equipment purchases.

Management Personnel Statistics Reported

PM0803162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "USSR State Committee for Statistics Reports": "Where Management Personnel Are and How Many of Them There Are"]

[Text] The problem of reducing the management apparatus and improving its work centrally and locally is a very acute one. IZVESTIYA has frequently written about it. To judge by readers' letters, it is continuing to worry many people today. What specifically is changing here under the new conditions? The USSR State Committee for Statistics figures which the editorial office has just received and which are published below need no commentary, we believe.

Numerical Strength of Management Apparatus Workers

	(Thousands of people) 1985	1988	1988 as percentage of 1985
In all *	14840	14962	100.8
A. Management personnel of enterprises and organizations	12464	13131	105.4
B. Apparatus of ministries, departments, and soviet and administrative organs of management	2376	1831	77.1
of which:			
Supreme Soviet Presidiums, soviet ispolkoms	312	311	99.7
Public and Cooperative organizations	349	341	97.7

Numerical Strength of Management Apparatus Workers

	(Thousands of people) 1985	1988	1988 as percentage of 1985
Apparatus of ministries, committees, and administrations	1623	1080	66.5
of which:			
Union	107	85	79.4
Republican	140	108	76.9
ASSR, kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, city	450	477	106.1
Apparatus of economic management (trusts, offices, and others)	646	145	22.4

* (Footnote) (Without security guards, couriers, stenographers, typists and other workers excluded from the nomenklatura of management personnel. Counting these categories, the number of workers in the management apparatus was 17.7 million in 1985).

In the past 3 years the numerical strength of the management personnel of enterprises and organizations (not counting kolkhozes) has increased from 12.5 million to 13.1 million while there has been an overall reduction of 1 million in the number of workers and employees over the same period. As a result the proportion of enterprises' management personnel in the total numbers of workers and employees has increased from 10.5 percent in 1985 to 11.2 percent in 1988.

As a result of the introduction of general schemes of management and the new organizational structure, the number of workers in the apparatuses of ministries, departments, and other organs of management has declined by 23 percent. A number of all-union ministries and departments have been disbanded: The Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Feed Production, the Ministry of Machine Building for the Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, the Ministry of Power Machine Building, the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. The number of republican ministries and departments has dropped from 800 to 600 and over 1,000 main administrations and administrations have been abolished.

The change in the numerical strength of the main management personnel posts at enterprises and organizations is characterized by the following figures (thousands of people):

	1985	1988	1988 as percentage of 1985
Leaders and their deputies	5855	5741	98.1

	1985	1988	1988 as percentage of 1985
of these, foremen	2075	1727	83.2
Chief specialists	914	934	102.2
Engineers, technicians, architects, mechanics, agronomists, veterinarians	2101	2371	112.9
Economists and engineer-economists (not counting chief ones)	804	939	116.8
Book-keeping and accounting personnel	1765	1917	108.6
Clerical personnel (not counting typists, stenographers, and archivists	133	140	105.3
Legal personnel	57	74	129.8
Other workers (agents, filing clerks, administrators, dispatchers, superintendents, and others)	835	1015	121.6

The growth in the numbers of this category of workers at enterprises and organizations is caused to a considerable extent by the transformation of a number of organs of economic management (all-union and republican industrial associations, trading organizations, workers' supply administrations, workers' supply departments, trusts, and other organs) into production enterprises and also by the easing of the labor collectives' monitoring of the rational formation and reduction of the numerical strength of management personnel.

Georgian Premier Views Economic Changes

PM0903122389 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, by unnamed GRUZINFORM correspondent: "From Administration To Economic Methods; General Plan for Managing the Republic's National Economy—An Effective Lever for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development"; date and place of interview not given; first three paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Increasing efficiency in the leadership of the national economy means granting the broadest independence to associations and enterprises, switching precisely to economic methods of leading them, and giving the administration modern organizational structures. The implementation of the General Plan for Managing the Georgian SSR National Economy is also being implemented in this vein.

How is this process going? How does it correspond to the tasks put forward by restructuring? What specific aims is it pursuing? These and other questions determined the range of topics touched on in the conversation between a GRUZINFORM correspondent and O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

In formulating the new general plan, Otar Yevtikhiyevich said, we saw as the main task the provision of an organizational base for the switch from command-administrative to economic methods of leadership at all levels. Moreover, the course being followed is to clearly differentiate the spheres of activity of economic organs, ministries, and departments. Some of their functions in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) have been handed over directly to production collectives. The ministries and departments themselves and their central apparatuses have been reorganized in accordance with the republic's General Plan.

[Correspondent] How specifically did the "reconstruction" of the management component at republican level proceed, and what will it produce?

[Cherkeziya] The number of union-republican and republican management organs has been reduced from 52 to 37. Their new organizational structure has been formed, primarily, according to functional criteria and foresees the decisive strengthening of economic, scientific and technical, and juridical services.

For example, the Georgian SSR State Construction Committee has been formed on this principle on the base of the republic's Gosstroy, Ministries of Construction and the Construction Materials Industry, and Council of Ministers Main Administration of Capital Construction, which have been abolished, with the inclusion in this committee's structure of the Georgian SSR Gosagroprom "Gruzagrostroy" Republican Association and the Georgian Ministry of Construction Main Administration of Specialized Construction and Installation Work. This made it possible not only to break interdepartmental barriers but also to unite the interests of clients and contractors and to focus efforts on implementing a single strategy for the economic, social, and scientific-technical development of this most important sector. The amalgamation of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Ministry of the Forestry Industry into a single organism—the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Forestry Industry—will make it possible to resolve more comprehensively many nature conservation problems which before they could not overcome singly. The republic's new Ministry of National Education formed from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the State Committee for Professional and Technical Education are expected to improve the work of training and educating the rising generation.

It is essential to restructure the republican apparatus work more vigorously and free it from petty tutelage and the functions of the day-to-day economic management of labor collectives, clearly delimit rights and obligations among management components, and coordinate sectorial and territorial interests. This is the main concern.

[Correspondent] And how is the renewal of the local management apparatus progressing, primarily in the autonomous formations?

[Cherkeziya] The number of management organs there has been reduced from 103 to 77. Moreover, in the Abkhaz and Adzhar ASSR's the ministries dealing with consumer services and the forestry industry, the state committee for cinematography, the local highways administration, and so on have been abolished. Some of them have merged with other ministries and departments. Appropriate changes have also been made in the structure of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast Ispolkom. As a result the number of ministry and departmental apparatus personnel in the autonomous republics and the oblast has been reduced by 30 percent.

Many functions both of the republican organs and of the organs of autonomous formations have now been handed over to the supervision of city and rayon soviets. This applies particularly to questions of the provision of consumer services to the population and major repairs to the entire network of local highways. Territorial and intersectorial associations, which at present are completing preparatory work to switch to full economic accountability and self-financing, are operating in 18 of the republic's cities and rayons as part of the local soviet ispolkoms. This means that henceforth they are obliged to form the expenditure and revenue sections of their budgets at local level.

[Correspondent] But has a mechanism been created to facilitate the expansion of local soviets' independence, at least in the financial sphere?

[Cherkeziya] It is already in operation. I mean the composition of regional budgets on the base of stable long-term normatives, which gives local soviets the broadest financial and economic rights and provides for a decisive increase in their independence. This is possible only if the soviets have a stable financial base. So its potential must be closely coordinated with the results of the activity of all enterprises located in the appropriate territory.

The actual procedure for compiling the budget is changing fundamentally. What was it like before? In approving the republic's budget, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session at the same time also drew up the expenditure and income sections for every city and rayon in great detail, taking into account every minor item. Local soviet sessions were essentially given the role of ratifying decisions handed down from above.

Now it will be different: On the basis of firm normatives, the local organs of power have started to draw up the budgets for the territories under their jurisdiction as an integral part of the republic's budget. The actual mechanism for their formation focuses on the search for the best—one might say: most profitable—economic management decisions.

[Correspondent] What is the total number of people being cut in the republic's management sphere? Where are the people who are being released going?

[Cherkeziya] The republic intends to cut 12,100 people from the management apparatus. This reduction is made in accordance with labor legislation and gives those workers released the prescribed privileges and compensations. Programs are being implemented to utilize these specialists to strengthen primarily existing associations, enterprises, and organizations. So, out of the total number of personnel in the ministries' and departments' central management apparatus who have been cut out in connection with the introduction of the new organizational structure—they numbered 3,821 people or 50 percent of the total—more than 2,260 people have been employed in enterprises and organizations under their jurisdiction, while 620 workers of pensionable age are now taking a well-earned rest. The resettlement of the remainder continues.

[Correspondent] It is understandable that not everything is running smoothly in such complex work as restructuring the system of managing the economic organism. In your view, which problems today are the most urgent?

[Cherkeziya] There are enough problems for the time being. Incidentally, every single new venture has them, especially one so large and important as the implementation of the General Plan for Managing the Republic's National Economy. The process of improving work in this direction will continue. New, nonstereotyped approaches and fresh ideas absorbing the best that has been accumulated in the experience of restructuring in the country and in world practice are very important here.

I repeat, there are problems. There are still many unresolved matters on the agenda. Some ministries and departments and other management organs are slow to master work methods according with the new management plans and show unwarranted caution in creating progressive formations and reducing the management apparatus in the primary component. And that is precisely where most of the officials are concentrated. We are not yet satisfied with the pace of reduction in the size of the apparatus in the management organs under union authority which are located on the republic's territory. At the same time it is planned to reduce them by almost one-third, at least. There must be an equal reduction in the number of managers in social organizations.

All this was the subject of principled discussion at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session at the end of last year which examined the results of work to restructure the organizational structures for managing the republic's national economy. It was considered expedient to carry out further work to improve management in close coordination with the reform of the political system, the development of local self-management, the deepening of economic methods of leadership, and the democratization of society. In this connection

we attach particular significance to discussing the tasks of economic reform and involving leading scientists, specialists, production commanders, and representatives of the public in work to produce proposals and recommendations for improving the management of the national economy.

[Correspondent] How is the republic's Council of Ministers restructuring its activity in the new conditions of glasnost and democratization?

[Cherkeziya] We are striving to decisively eliminate formalism and regimentation in work. A subject of particular concern is the struggle against bureaucracy and red tape. There are regular meetings in the Council of Ministers with journalists on the most urgent problems of the republic's life. Detailed reports from sessions of the Council of Ministers Presidium are published promptly in the newspapers and broadcast on television. The aim is to involve the broadest possible strata of society in resolving relevant matters and to take a fuller account of the people's opinion.

Up to 30 different state programs are now being elaborated in the republic relating to language development, history, the protection of historical monuments, environmental conservation, demography, and so on. And it is very important that people who are vitally interested in restructuring's success and further advance participate most directly in their formulation and implementation. The best confirmation of this is the genuine progress of active, nationwide discussion of the draft basic provisions of the Plan for the Development and Location of the Republic's Production Forces for the Period through 2005, prepared jointly with many scientific-research and design institutes and state establishments. Virtually all of the most acute questions and problems which arose as a result of the nationwide discussion are being studied, taking public opinion into account. These are questions of the environment's ecology during the construction of the GES dam on the Inguri river, the working of the Chiatura manganese deposits by the open-cut method, and many others. Moreover, in connection with proposals and comments received from workers, from the Rustaveli Society, and from a number of the republic's rayispolkoms regarding violations of the Law on Land Tenure, we even went so far as to set aside its recently adopted resolution "On Measures to Regulate Individual Housing Construction in the Georgian SSR" and formed a commission for the further study of this question. In my view, this is also democracy in action.

Restructuring has brought many new things in improving the structure of our apparatus itself and in its work style. Now the size of the apparatus has been reduced by almost one-fourth, but this has in no way been reflected in its output. By consolidating departments, abolishing a number of commissions which have outlived their time, and carrying out other organizational measures we have succeeded in concentrating efforts on key directions in the republic's socioeconomic development, increasing supervision of the fulfillment of decisions adopted, and sharply boosting efficiency in work with letters and depositions from working people.

[Correspondent] Otar Yevtikhiyevich, probably the most burning question now is that of the republic's economic independence. How does it seem to you? At what stage is its formulation?

[Cherkeziya] The republic's switch to full economic accountability and self-financing cannot happen in a day. The problem is an extremely major one and of course cannot be resolved at a stroke, as some people suggest. A comprehensively thought-out and scientifically substantiated concept for the new, integrated system of management and administration is needed here. It must be based on the policy of granting enterprises independence and expanding the republic's economic rights and powers. It should not be forgotten that this is not an end in itself but a means of increasing economic responsibility and interest and putting into practice the principle of "a strong region—a strong center."

Active work is now under way in the republic to ensure the introduction of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing in all components of the national economy. Since last year almost one-third of industrial enterprises, all enterprises and organizations in state and cooperative trade, communications, and automotive transport for general use have been working on these principles. Since January of this year enterprises and associations from virtually all sectors of material production have switched to full economic accountability and self-financing. Analytical material on the creation of the socioeconomic prerequisites for the republic's economy to function on these principles has already been prepared and is being examined. The republic Council of Ministers approved the program put forward by the Georgian SSR Gosplan for additional preparatory work to switch our republic to full economic accountability and self-financing. The formulation of efficient models of regional economic accountability lies ahead. I repeat that this work is very difficult. All the problems which are emerging here—and there are many—can and must be resolved only in the spirit of democratization and glasnost, of constructive dialog among experts, specialists, and all persons concerned, taking into account public opinion, on the basis of consolidating all restructuring forces.

Agricultural

Progress of Gosagroprom Discussed at Meeting

*** Resolution Passed**

WA18240050 Moscow VESTNIK AGROPROMA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by L. Savschenko]

[Text] Last week the USSR Gosagroprom Collegium held a meeting at which the results of the socioeconomic

development of the USSR Gosagroprom in 1988 and the first 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan, and the tasks for 1989 were discussed.

It was noted that, compared with 1981-1985, between 1986 and 1988 the average annual volume of gross agricultural output had increased by 9 percent; there was a 16 percent increase in meat production, 10 percent in milk, and 11 percent in eggs. The volume of commodity output of industry in 1988, compared to 1985, had increased by 11 percent. The material and technical base of agriculture, industry, and other sectors had developed further. As a whole for the USSR Gosagroprom the plan for the commissioning of fixed assets, capital investments, and construction and installation projects was completed.

The application of the new economic mechanism helped to improve the economy and finances of farms, enterprises, and organizations. Production costs had declined and production profitability had increased. Compared with 1987 the number of losing farms and enterprises had declined by a factor of 3.

However, the positive changes in the economy have still not assumed a comprehensive and stable nature. The grave problem of supplying the population with food products remains. No radical changes have taken place in applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress. The problems of resource conservation and application of the most progressive technology had not been solved satisfactorily. As a result, there were considerable shortfalls in the deliveries of potatoes, melon crops, berries, grapes, and fruits to the all-union fund.

The resolution passed by the collegium earmarked the steps to consolidate and develop the positive trends which had appeared and to intensify progressive structural changes aimed, above all, at improving the utilization of all resources in agricultural output for the production of foodstuffs, by improving the work of processing sectors, enhancing the development and improvement of economic relations in the countryside and intensifying the activities of scientific organizations and associations for the extensive application of progressive basic technologies and reducing the adverse effect of farm chemicals on the health of the people and on the environment.

* Socioeconomic Development Discussed

WA18240050 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by V. Virkunen]

[Text] Problems of the socioeconomic development of enterprises and organizations within the country's agroindustrial complex for the first 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan and the tasks for 1989 were considered at the meeting of the USSR Gosagroprom Collegium, which took place yesterday [27 Jan]. In their statements the participants noted that in the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan overall output had increased and the economic situation of the country's agroindustrial complex had been strengthened. Nonetheless, positive changes had still not assumed a comprehensive nature and negative trends remain. The problem of supplying the population with food products remains acute. The activities of the gosagroproms of union republics in saturating the market with goods and services are inconsistent with the requirements of restructuring.

The meeting of the collegium was attended by F.P. Senko, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department.

* Ligachev and Nikonov Meet With Specialists

WA18240050 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] A talk was held between Ye.K. Ligachev and V.P. Nikonov and a group of specialists and kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers, who had recently undergone training abroad. All in all, last year 165 people were assigned for practical training abroad. They worked in farms in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, England, and the United States.

At the talk it was noted that such training has great advantages compared to ordinary assignments for gaining practical experience; it makes possible in-depth studies of the organization of agricultural labor in other countries and, together with foreign colleagues, covers a certain technological cycle and borrows its best features. Furthermore, personal contacts are established among people working in agriculture.

The participants in the meeting submitted many specific suggestions on improving the management of the agrarian complex and material and technical procurements to the farms and the solution of social problems in the countryside, related to preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Reliable and highly productive equipment is especially needed.

The decision was made to broaden the training of specialists and farm managers abroad. This very year a substantially increased number of them will be thus assigned. However, as was pointed out at the talk, those who have worked abroad must actively apply everything that is useful in the practices of their farms. Positive experience is always valuable when duplicated. It is also necessary to develop more extensively the practical training of managers, specialists, workers, and kolkhoz members in the frontranking kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country.

The meeting was attended by I.I. Siiba, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and V.N. Igzhatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom.

*** Soviet-U.S. Agro-Economic Relations Discussed**
WA18240050 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 4

Interview with Myren Lazerson, head of the Contitrade Services Corporation, conducted by V. Shcherban, SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent; first paragragh is an introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] **Myren Lazerson, head of the Contitrade Services Corporation, through which our country makes its grain purchases from the United States, came to our country to conclude an unusual deal. This time, in the course of the discussions not a word was said about wheat. Lazerson had come to us to make a deal on the commercial application of the results of space research. Our correspondent met with him after the agreement had been initialed.**

[Shcherban] Mr. Lazerson, tell us what is the essence of the deal.

[Lazerson] Our company will purchase from Soyuzkarta, the Soviet foreign trade company, photographs from its orbiting satellites and sell them in the United States and in Canada, South America, and the Caribbean countries. As you know, space information has a variety of applications.

[Shcherban] I heard that one of the photographs, which was presented to you as a souvenir, has already been put to work, as they say. Seattle, the future capital of the Goodwill Games, can be seen on the T-shirts of thousands of Americans....

[Lazerson] Yes, such T-shirts are in demand in our country. This, understandably, is only a drop in the bucket compared to what space business could yield. In general, let me tell you that we still can not imagine entirely all the benefits of this new project. Who would have thought that photographs from outer space would help in locating...criminals? Some months ago our specialists turned to the Russians with a request for photographs taken from outer space of a city at a time of a presumed murder. Our people knew that the quality of your space flight photographs is such that the deck of a ship sailing down a river could be identified. You can imagine what publicity such photographs generate. That is why we are looking optimistically at our cooperation with Soyuzkarta.

[Shcherban] Mr. Lazerson, you deal in your business with tractors, knitted goods and grain.... What interested you in outer space?

[Lazerson] Today many people are interested in space. Representatives of dozens of companies are impatiently waiting for the day when we shall be showing them your photographs. This interest is a guarantee that demand will be steady.

[Shcherban] How will space research be used in U.S. agriculture?

[Lazerson] We already discussed this with representatives of our farm agency. They, too, are interested in the success of the project. Photographs from space will help our crops. With their help, during the vegetation period we shall be able to identify fields with sick crops and make most efficient use of the land in obtaining good harvests.

[Shcherban] Incidentally, about the harvest. How much grain is our country purchasing from the United States?

[Lazerson] Thirteen to 15 million tons of wheat and leguminous crops annually. This has been the case for the past 10 years. It all began with one million tons of grain which the USSR purchased through our company in 1963. The grain was used essentially as animal feed. I believe that for a while Russia will continue to buy grain. In my view, all the problems of your grain economy are caused by several difficulties. You lack good roads and modern processing complexes. Furthermore, such structures require significant capital investments. You need technical aid and to establish closer contacts.

[Shcherban] Currently we have many such contacts. An exchange has been initiated between American farmers and our peasants, something which, until recently, was deemed inconceivable. What is your opinion of such exchanges?

[Lazerson] Any step which leads to improving mutually profitable relations between us is for the good. Let me point out, however, that what matters to us is not simply tourist trips but contacts with serious people who could enrich their own thoughts and experience.

[Shcherban] We know that your plans also contemplate the development in our country of a powerful tomato processing complex....

[Lazerson] I believe that this is a good idea. Recently we discussed with specialists problems related to the implementation of a joint project. We defined the types of output which could be exported to the United States. This applies to processed vegetables and fruits. This includes tomatoes. Incidentally, I recently visited Tajikistan and the training center where photographs sent by satellites are being synthesized, i.e., colorized. Color makes it easier to determine the quality of water, the degree of salinity of the soil, the condition of forests and the quality of pastures and to assess maritime resources.... And although I did not have a great deal of leisure time, I nonetheless managed to take a look at the market in Dushanbe. I was astounded by the excellent quality of local vegetables and fruits. They were better than those I had tried in the past. In my view, Dushanbe has a very good export potential.

I believe that closer ties on an equal basis are needed in the area of agricultural production. We must learn from one-another's positive experience.

[Shcherban] Last year, as we know, many states were hit by the drought. How could this affect grain prices?

[Lazerson] Add to this the poor harvests in Canada, Argentina, Australia, etc. For that reason grain prices will be between 50 and 100 percent higher than last year's. The price increase may not stop there.

[Shcherban] As you know, great changes in our agriculture are currently taking place. Possibly, soon our country will begin to purchase considerably less grain from abroad than it does now. Would the grain king become bankrupt in Russia?

[Lazerson] I can only welcome such changes in your economy. And in order not to go bankrupt, as you can see, I have already started to become involved in a new activity—space!

[Shcherban] This is interesting. What would be the cost of a photograph from space?

[Lazerson] Its cost is stipulated in the contract: tens of thousands of dollars.

Candidate Criticizes 'Senseless' Grain Policy

PM0903104589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Academician Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [Vaskhnil], conducted by own economic observer Pavel Voshchanov under the "Social Portrait of a Phenomenon" rubric: "Alien Corn"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Problems with grain have become almost commonplace in some regions of the country. The lack of macaroni and vermicelli on sale no longer surprises anyone. It is even difficult to buy flour. What is the cause? Our economic observer Pavel Voshchanov talks about this with Academician Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov of Vaskhnil.

[Voshchanov] What is happening with grain in our country? Are we are growing too little wheat?

[Tikhonov] We grow a great deal! As grain producers we are are first in Europe and third in the world. At the same time the Soviet Union is one of the biggest grain importers.

[Voshchanov] There are said to be objective reasons. We do have in our country a zone of "high-risk" arable farming....

[Tikhonov] But our forebears, after all, were not growing wheat in Iowa, and, incidentally, did not consider their occupation so "risky."

[Voshchanov] For some reason we today do not have enough of our own grain.

[Tikhonov] Not enough? Yes, we grow around 100 million tonnes of wheat today—almost double of what all Americans farmers, taken together, produce! But America has enough of its own grain, enough left over even to export, whereas we don't. Why? The problem is not the quantity but the quality of the wheat grown. We have almost completely lost the technique of growing durum and strong wheat, without which any bread baking is impossible. What our kolkhozes and sovkhozes transport to the elevators is basically fit for livestock feed only. You will not get good bread from such wheat. So you have to buy it overseas to mix with our own if you want to bake halfway decent bread.

[Voshchanov] However, in many regions of the country the bread is, alas, of very poor quality. It quite often does not even go stale, but gets covered with mold and goes rotten. Many housewives have learned to keep it in...the refrigerator.

[Tikhonmov] Nowadays only old people recall when we had tasty, fragrant bread and how many different types were baked! Now Soviet bread baking is in a difficult state. Moreover, the pasta industry has been virtually ruined.

[Voshchanov] What brought the crisis about then?

[Tikhonov] An utterly senseless agrarian policy. It has made peasants the obedient executants of orders and instructions and gradually taught them to pursue the erroneous and immoral goal of fulfilling the grain plan at any price! Any kind, any quality of grain! Provided only that you deliver a bit more to the elevator. And who has enquired about quality? No one. Even the prices for high-quality and low-grade grain have long been the same in our country. Who then is going to want to grow durum wheat? It is more labor intensive and has a lower yield than "run-of-the-mill" strains. In general everything is geared to the pursuit of gross output and accounting figures.

[Voshchanov] And the result is that our grain-growing has a bulk grain bias? But is there perhaps a reason for this? If we let our wheat go for forage it results in meat and milk, does it not?

[Tikhonov] I wish that this were the case! Unfortunately, most of it just ends up as manure! Other countries appreciated long ago that wheat cannot ensure high productivity in animals. But we allocate at least half our wheat crop to livestock each year. You will scarcely find a farmer anywhere in the world who would grow food

grain for these purposes—it is a sure path to bankruptcy!... I want to cite a few figures. They answer your question, I think. In the last 5 years the United States has consumed a little over 195 million tonnes of grain annually. We consumed 24 million tonnes more. And what is the effect? America has produced 24 million tonnes of meat each year, we only 16 million, and, moreover, of lower quality. The overall milk situation in our country is embarrassing! A Soviet cow yields just a little more milk than an American goat. For their farmers an average milk yield of 6,000 kg is common. Our kolkhozes and sovkhozes "struggle" to obtain 2,500 kg.

[Voshchanov] What is to be done? After all, our natural pasture has long been plowed up. A large section of flood meadow has disappeared "thanks" to reservoirs. There is no alternative to forage, is there?

[Tikhonov] Some do argue that way. Incidentally, the Americans have an even larger proportion of grain in their feed ration than we do. But what kind of grain? Corn! It serves as the basis. While our animals consume barely one-fifth as much corn. They are fed with feed grain—wheat and rye. It does not have feed value. So how can you expect a good yield here? Will we have an abundance of meat and milk? I do not think that is to be expected, given such feed.

[Voshchanov] A paradoxical, not to say absurd picture is appearing: Farmers grow wheat, hand it over to the state, and then receive the same wheat back from it, but now for feeding stock. What is the use of such shipments?

[Tikhonov] The transport costs alone from this juggling act amount to many millions, since every tonne of wheat "clocks" up an average of at least 1,000 km on the road! Is this perhaps beneficial to kolkhozes and sovkhozes? Not in the least. They sell the grain to the state at one price and then buy it as feed at twice the price.

[Voshchanov] And the conclusion to be drawn from this?

[Tikhonov] We are producing a lot of unnecessary low-grade grain and are unable to set up the growing of high-protein feed crops. We are investing vast amounts in grain farming, but are receiving virtually no return. Roughly one-third of our grain requirements today are met through imports.

[Voshchanov] Why have we failed to notice this for so many years then? After all, the present grain structure has been with us for some time now. Ultimately the question of what it is best to plant in the fields is, after all, a purely agricultural rather than political question.

[Tikhonov] A technique for growing wheat was developed in Russia. It enabled in general a perfectly decent crop to be obtained. A political calculation was based on this back in the era of collectivization and the "great Stalinist leaps forward": Large-scale wheat production was the shortest route to achieving an abundance of meat and milk. That was the only way to "catch up and overtake." All the land that could be was planted with this crop. Not only all machine building but also the production of mineral fertilizers and plant-protection agents were gradually geared to it. The "wheat" machine was cranked up so tightly that it was no longer so easy to stop it.

[Voshchanov] And yet in the late fifties and early sixties people did try to restructure grain farming. Priority was given to corn at the time. Why did the experiment flop?

[Tikhonov] At first glance many people were wholeheartedly in its favor. People simply threw themselves into the fray! It seemed that they were ready to plow the whole country up under the "tsarina of the fields." They wanted to demonstrate their zeal, organizational ability, and readiness to pursue the idea advanced by the country's then leader, but wanted, strictly speaking, nothing to change. Not in agrarian technology, agricultural machine building, or the agricultural chemicals industry. Even corn-growing cadres were not trained properly at the time. The bureaucracy in general is inclined to take everything to absurd lengths and turn it into a campaign, where the benefit is always the same: awards, career advancement, and demonstration of one's own indispensability to superiors. The campaign came to an end.... And now corn has been virtually abandoned: It makes up an unacceptably small proportion of grain production, a little over 6 percent, while is it 10 times larger in the United States! Yet we have regions whose bioclimatic characteristics are very good for corn—the southern areas of the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the North Caucasus. Even there we stubbornly sow wheat! Although it does not produce very good quality wheat.

[Voshchanov] Why not finally sort things out? Grow less wheat, say, and then only durum and strong strains and give up importing grain at the same time?

[Tikhonov] As far as importing food grain is concerned, we must resolutely stop doing so. And the sooner the better. Forage is a different matter. We have incredibly inflated the numbers of livestock, although it is clear to everyone that it is better to keep one well-fed cow than than 10 half-starved ones.... Numbers have to be cut, but can it be done quickly enough. Alas, no. That requires increased animal productivity, otherwise we will merely exacerbate the country's food situation. I do not think therefore that we will be able in the next 5-7 years to completely supply our livestock with Soviet feed and will have to buy forage abroad.

[Voshchanov] Why then do we continue buying food grain—wheat?

[Tikhonov] I once ran into the following enigmatic situation. A proposal arose while I was on an assignment in Vietnam: What if we set up a joint enterprise producing coarse soybean meal? It is the most valuable high-protein feed. While we do not have so many regions

where soybeans grow well, Vietnam, on the other hand, seems to be the perfect spot for it. Computations were made on the spot there. It turned out that all our livestock east of the Urals could be provided for by this feed. Is it beneficial? Doubly so: We take the edge off the "protein" problem in our stockraising and get a real chance to begin restructuring our completely neglected grain farming. That of course, is just the first estimate, but it gives food for thought. On returning home I therefore submitted a memorandum to the top of the Agroprom pyramid. I waited 1 month, 2 months. Silence. Six months later I received a telephone call from Gosplan. "We cannot, unfortunately, accept your proposal." Why? I asked. It so happens that "there are not yet the necessary conditions" for its implementation. While the conditions for an annual outlay of millions of dollars on the purchase of American grain are?

[Voshchanov] The imports are perhaps easily explicable, because if there were no grain purchases, there would not be the numerous foreign assignments either.

[Tikhonov] Yes, it has to be honestly admitted that officials in general greatly prize "business tourism." It would, I think, be tantamount to a personal tragedy for many of them if they were deprived of this opportunity. That, however, is merely the external aspect of the problem. Its real cause lies deeper.

[Voshchanov] Is it possible for the state to keep absolutely everything within its purview? This leads to a general desire to pass judgment on life and achieve uniformity, and, in our case, monoculture. Because the more homogeneous production is, the easier it is to direct. Hence, incidentally, the obsession with size. Do you remember our "giant grain plants" and "grain factories".... I am certain that we will never get rid of shortages and solve the food problem unless we smash this ill-fated system.

[Voshchanov] What is the food situation like in the country today, in your opinion?

[Tikhonov] I would put it this way: It has not improved. On the whole agricultural output is not falling; it is even increasing slowly. But this growth is slowing down every year. In the last 5-Year Plan we got into a crisis situation for the first time: The volume of output produced in the country per capita began to decrease. Urgent measures needed to be taken, and some of the easily accessible reserves were then tapped. That gave a breathing space: In 1986 the growth in agricultural output increased. People breathed a sigh of relief, thinking that it was the beginning of a breakthough. But already the following year growth again fell and did not exceed one percent. And what is that for a vast country? The country's population has nevertheless increased, and the breakthrough has not yet come. The statistical service's efforts to gloss this over are futile. [Tikhonov ends, journalist's summary follows]

...I confess that I left Academician Tikhonov somewhat at a loss as to what to report to our readers. When everyday products—potatoes, butter, and flour—disappear from the stores in peacetime you want to find the person to blame for these outrages and bring him to justice. But who is he? We mostly do not get to know his name and therefore call him very abstractly a bureaucrat. This does not, understandably, suit our readers. They demand that names be named: "Are you afraid to do so?" How is one to explain to and convince people that it is not so simple. We will not discover the culprits unless everything that happens in our economy is placed under public supervision. Do we not put too much trust in the wisdom of the apparatuses? I fear that we will not achieve much that way. And yet we are talking about the fate of our national economy. It belongs to us all, and we are all responsible for it. An implacable struggle is being waged around this apparently simple truth. The future of our country and each of us depends on its outcome. Many candidate people's deputies are talking about this today. Academician Tikhonov—Vaskhnil's candidate—is fighting for this. The objective of his election program—land to the peasants—is something that we recognize and understand.

* Official Views Latvian Draft Law on Peasant Farm

WA18240066 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with V. Rymashevskiy, Latvian Gosagroprom chairman, by T. Bleskina and T. Kovalskaya, TASS correspondents: "Riga: Master of the Land"; first paragraph is introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] **Many of the stipulations of the draft Latvian SSR Law on the Peasant Farm, which are now being extensively discussed in the republic, were not born in the quiet of offices but were the result of practical experience. This law, which has no analogue in the country, defines the economic, social, and legal conditions for the activities of individual farms. The new draft law was discussed by V. Rymashevskiy, Latvian Gosagroprom chairman.**

[Question] Vladimir Frantsevich, is it contemplated that, in addition to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, there will be private farmers in the republic to whom land will be granted for perpetual use and with inheritance rights? Does this mark a return to private farms?

[Rymashevskiy] It is a return to Leninist policy. What did Lenin say? The factories must go to the workers and the land to the peasants. We later abandoned this and acutely felt that we had lost the peasant, that we had alienated him from the land. Currently the republic is developing various production structures on a simultaneous basis. In addition to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, we are creating agricultural companies and combines. We are also restoring individual farms, which is another result of the specific situation. Today we have about one million hectares of neglected and unfarmed land, particularly in the eastern part of the republic, as well as many abandoned buildings. All of this can be developed by interested people. This does not apply

to the lessees, to whom land is granted for a period of a few years, and who will eventually leave, taking out of it all that they can, but to the true owners, i.e., to the people who know that they are working for themselves and for their children. We must provide guarantees which will codify the right of the individual to own that which he has created through his efforts.

[Question] The project stipulates the possibility of giving owners of individual farms the right to hire workers. This raises the question of whether it is not a step toward the use of farm laborers?

[Rymashevskiy] The draft law does not allow the hiring of workers on a permanent basis or for lengthy periods of time. It merely allows the hiring of other citizens only during periods of intensive farm work. Incidentally, mutual assistance has always been characteristic of the countryside.

[Question] Although the project deals with specific matters, no figures have been cited with the exception of the amount of allocated plots, which should be "no less than 20 hectares of land for agricultural purposes." To what extent is this figure economically substantiated and who will control the use of the land?

[Rymashevskiy] The plan is to grant the local soviets the right to confiscate the land if it remains unused or is poorly used for its assigned purposes. Naturally, it is the peasant himself who will determine the nature of his farm, although we shall be orienting him above all toward the production of foodstuffs. We still have many people who would like to grow cash crops, such as flowers, earn well from such activities and then abandon the land. We shall probably have to allocate the land on a competitive basis, having determined whether or not the people are ready to cultivate it and whether they have the necessary experience and training. In other words, could they be entrusted with 20, 30 or 40 hectares? The main emphasis should be for each family to be able to farm its own land without outside help.

[Question] In any case, the family will need equipment. How realistic is the possibility of acquiring such equipment and under what conditions?

[Rymashevskiy] As stipulated in the resolution of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, in addition to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and enterprises, peasant farms will be part of the agroindustrial system. This will give them an equal right to buy such equipment at identical prices.

[Question] Anyone who undertakes a new activity needs starting capital and credit. Under what conditions could they be granted?

[Rymashevskiy] Conditions for obtaining loans and repaying them should be the same as those of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The latter could also cosign loans to peasants.

[Question] In addition to a good law we also need proper conditions for farm work. Do you not consider that, on a parallel basis, decisive economic steps should be taken to lead the people back to the land?

[Rymashevskiy] Naturally, if we have a peasant family we also have children and elderly people. Therefore, polyclinics and schools must be available nearby. The main thing, without which nothing can be done on the farm, is roads. Roads will be built both at the expense of the farms and state budget funds. The republic has gained practical experience in providing conditions which would be most favorable for the new farmers: the experience of the Liyebere Sovkhoz, Madonskiy Rayon. It is here, that at the expense of the farm, housing repairs were undertaken, roads were built and only then were people invited to come to work. This distant farm has also acquired a certain experience in using the leasing method. A family with several children leased a livestock farm for 37 cows. Its milk production has averaged 5,700 kilograms. The family feeds and milks the cows, while the sovkhoz supplies the fodder and transportation. In the course of time, if the people want it, they will be able to buy the livestock farm from the sovkhoz, acquire land, and grow their own fodder. At that point this will become a private peasant farm.

[Question] In other words, it will become private property?

[Rymashevskiy] We must offer the people the possibility of becoming interested in working the land. Yes, the peasant farm will be private property for a certain volume of means of production. Using his own money, the individual will be able to buy a tractor, a combine, a livestock farm, a home, cattle, etc. However, the land has belonged and will continue to belong to the state. This is the very foundation of everything.

Scientific

'Mir' Crew Conducts 'Astrophysical Investigations'

LD1003105289 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—By Tass correspondent from the Flight Control Centre

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are completing another week of their space mission aboard the Mir spaceship.

On Friday the crew devoted a considerable part of their working time to astrophysical investigations. Using the "glazar" telescope registering radiation in the ultraviolet range of the spectrum, crew members will make snaps of some parts of the celestial sphere in the crux constellation. Several observation sessions of a Scorpios X-1 Roentgen source are planned in line with the programme of the international project Roentgen.

To study the state of the human organism under space conditions, Doctor Polyakov carried out a series of medical experiments prepared jointly by Soviet and Bulgarian experts. He assessed psychophysiological responses and capacity for work of the cosmonauts and investigated interaction between the visual system and vestibular apparatus in weightlessness.

According to reports from the spaceship and the data of telemetry information, the flight of the Mir complex proceeds smoothly. The cosmonauts feel well.

Research Ship Reaches Antarctica Station
LD0903210589 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad March 9 TASS—In difficult ice conditions the research ship "Akademik Fedorov" reached the Soviet Antarctic station Russkaya to relieve the crew of researchers and supply the station with everything necessary. It took the flagship of the expedition fleet six days to pass through the 200-mile stretch of heavy drift ice to reach the station, one of the most hard-of-access in Antarctica.

Snow bound ice fields with patches of hummocky ice and fragments of old ice impeded the vessel's advance. The vessel was advancing toward the station with an average speed of only 4-5 miles an hour. When the ship was approaching the coast it had to move in lurches. A helicopter has been guiding the ship through ice. In similar conditions the electrically-driven motorship Mikhail Somov was trapped by ice in the area several years ago and was drifting over many months.

When the vessel was being unloaded at Russkaya Antarctic station, the ice condition on the route covered by the ship complicated still more. A thorough analysis of the information received from earth's satellites and the data of glacial aerial survey enabled the hydrologists to find a loophole for the ship to reach clear water along the edge of shore ice.

Akademik Fedorov is now sailing along the Antarctic coast to the West. It is hoped that in a few days' time the ship will reach the Ross Sea which is now clear of ice. Then the ship will set the course for the Somov Sea and will bring supplies to Leningradskaya station, the only Soviet scientific township in Antarctica which had not yet been reached by supplies under the programme of the 34th Soviet Antarctic expedition.

Polar Research Vessel Concludes Experiments
LD0903183289 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Murmansk March 9 TASS—Soviet scientists drifting on board the scientific-research vessel "Otto Schmidt" have successfully concluded a one and a half month experiment studying ice, water and the ocean floor. This information was received today by the Murmansk Department on Hydrometeorology and Environment Control.

With the help of the atomic ice-breaker "Rossiya" the vessel entered the ice-fields north of Greenland. The last time research was conducted in that area was in 1937-38 by the crew of the Soviet scientific station "North Pole" led by Ivan Papanin.

Information gathered as a result of the experiment is of great importance and has already sparked the interest of countries in the Arctic Region. Having entered the ice-free waters today "Otto Schmidt" has started for Rekjavik. After refuelling and taking on fresh supplies of food and water the ship will sail for home.

Academy of Science Presidium Holds Meeting
PM0903150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium"]

[Text] At the 7 March session of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium in Moscow the question of preparations for the All-Union Conference of Scientific Workers, where scientists working both in science's academic and sectoral sectors and also at higher schools will be broadly represented, was heard. There are plans to elaborate at this conference a concept for the restructuring of fundamental science and improving the activity of the network of scientific societies and associations, and to discuss ways to enhance scientists' role in the country's socioeconomic development.

The session also examined proposals from the staffers of academy, sectoral, and VUZ scientific collectives in Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of republic and regional scientific centers regarding the need to set up a creative union for the country's scientists and other scientific public organizations.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium supported these initiatives, which are designed to help consolidate scientific forces, further develop democratic traditions, boost scientists' civic responsibility and social activeness, and mobilize their creative potential to resolve the tasks of accelerating the restructuring process.

In preparation for the All-Union Conference of Scientific Workers the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium acknowledged the need to coordinate the preparatory work being implemented in various regions of the country linked with the organizational and statutory aspects of the new public formations' activity.

With a goal to organize democratic discussion of the proposals among the scientific public, the Presidium formed a working group headed by Academician Yu.A. Osipyan, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Military

General on Problems of Released Army Personnel

PM0803175589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Army General D.S. Sukhorukov by TASS Political Observer Yu. Kornilov: "Out of Uniform: Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR Deputy Defense Minister, Describes the Reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces Now Getting Under Way"; date and place not given]

[Text] "The decision on the reduction of our Armed Forces, as already reported, will be implemented during 1989-1990." D.S. Sukhorukov said. "I am not going to talk about the tremendous international significance of this action—it is common knowledge. However, I should like to stress in particular that the reduction of the Armed Forces now getting under way also has a most important national economic aspect. It is quite obvious that the reduction of spending on the upkeep of the Army will make it possible to free considerable resources which will be used to resolve urgent problems of socioeconomic development. There is another equally important point: In 2 years 500,000 people—12 percent of our Armed Forces!—will return to peaceful creative labor. That figure includes around 100,000 officers, the overwhelming majority of whom possess not only a high ideological tempering but also excellent vocational training and experience in working with people....

[Kornilov] Of course, Soviet officers are well-trained people, but they are purely military specialists, are they not? Where, for instance, will a missile officer who has been transferred to the reserve be able to apply his knowledge and experience? Or an artillery man?

[Sukhorukov] It must be borne in mind that a good half of our officer corps are engineers and graduates from the highest military training institutions whose curricula include the major general engineering disciplines and the same volume of study as in conventional "civilian" VUZ's, too. You ask where the missile officer can apply his knowledge? As a rule, these are highly qualified specialists who today are performing the task of protecting the Soviet people's peaceful labor and who tomorrow, when they have left the Army, will do excellent work in the electronics industry, in any radio engineering enterprise, in a television plant, a compressor plant, or for example, a refrigerator plant. And the artillery officer? These people, as a rule, are good, knowledgeable engineers, specialists in the field of computers or applied mathematics, or electrical engineering. In exactly the same way the commander of a tank subunit could tomorrow learn a new civilian trade at a vehicle or tractor plant or in the automotive industry with no special difficulty....

I have not mentioned officers in construction—who form the nucleus of the office corps among engineering troops—Air Force officers, or communications officers. Visit our major construction sites, aircraft plants, communications enterprises, or Aeroflot—I am sure that wherever you go you will hear good words about former officers who are working energetically there and often in the most responsible and complex areas. The reduction of the Army means that these and many other civilian sectors of our national economy are going to receive a substantial intake—and not only workers but specialists, too.

Now a special word about agriculture, a sector which concerns everyone. The Army has done and is doing much to help improve our countryside: I recall, for example, that there are several tens of thousands of servicemen working now in the fields of our RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone alone, and by 1995 our highway construction units are to lay 20,000 km of modern roads. The upcoming reduction of the Armed Forces means that many thousands of well-trained and disciplined people who have received military training will join in the solution of the countryside's problems. It is important to ensure that this socially difficult process—in which today's tank driver becomes tomorrow's agricultural machine operator or, for example, a bridge construction officer who heads a team of rural construction workers—is well organized and wins people over. Much is now being done in that regard. For example, the ex-serviceman will be given substantial benefits in building his own home in the countryside.

What I have said, of course, does not mean that we do not have the problem of retraining a section of officer cadres. This problem exists and we are trying energetically to resolve it. In conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems we have already prepared a special plan to retrain those military servicemen liable for dismissal and members of their families. This retraining will be carried out both within the training course network of enterprises and organizations and at vocational and technical colleges and other educational establishments. The Ministry of Defense and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems are also obliged to monitor the organized recruitment of servicemen at enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and also job placement by specialism for compulsory service and extended service soldiers who would like to return to the enterprises where they worked before being drafted into the Army.

[Kornilov] Logically, the reduction of the Army also presumes a certain reduction of military educational establishments. What will happen to cadets?

[Sukhorukov] Yes, we are tentatively planning to close a number of military schools. The fate of the cadets? The overwhelming majority will be given the opportunity to continue training in their chosen military specialism in other colleges, some will have to finish their 2-year period of military service in military units, and some students in the second year and above may be transferred to the reserve. Final-year students will complete their education, be given officer rank, and enter service in the forces as officers. This, of course, is only a general outline within which we must adopt the most attentive, individualized approach to students. In this way all students at these colleges will, if they wish, be given an opportunity to acquire a military education.

[Kornilov] Clearly, such a significant reduction in the Armed Forces will inevitably raise many social questions connected with the work and life of the tens of thousands of officers and ensigns to be released....

[Sukhorukov] Yes, that is right. In this connection I should like first of all to stress that the concern for these people is not a purely departmental matter but a nationwide matter in the full sense of the word. All social questions, be they questions of job placement or the provision of housing, medical services, and so on to yesterday's officers must be resolved— and in most cases are resolved—with the most active participation of party and soviet organs and social organizations. Trade unions can do and actually are doing much here. It is important to ensure that all social questions—both the major ones and the relatively minor ones—are resolved in a democratic environment and an atmosphere of broad glasnost which, as experience shows, guarantees the observance of the principles of social justice.

Needless to say that military commissariats must take an active part in this work.

Back in the fifties it was decided to create under soviet ispolkoms special commissions for providing jobs, housing, and consumer services for officers in the reserve, retired officers, and members of their families. That decision has not been revoked, but in fact the majority of the commissions referred to here, which worked quite well during the first reduction of our Armed Forces (in 1960), gradually seem to have become "quiescent" since then. Now, on the eve of the major new reduction of the Army, it is necessary to revive the commissions drastically and step up their work. Their tasks are clear from their very title and are, in brief, to ensure that each serviceman transferred into the reserve receives true attention and genuine, not feigned care. The commissions must work in conditions of the restructuring that is taking place in the country, in the new soviets which are being given real power, and they must act in a new way: energetically, resourcefully! Whether it is a matter of helping the officer transferred to the reserve to find his place in the general labor system or providing him with housing and caring for his medical services and other everyday needs.

But the following fact enables you to judge what acute conflicts sometimes occur when dealing with the future of an officer transferred from the Army into the reserve. Imagine a young Muscovite who donned his military uniform many years ago. Time has passed and that young man is now an honored officer with long years of difficult service and rigorous military life behind him. He leaves the Army and of course he wants to go back to his home town—then it becomes clear that he cannot have a Moscow resident's permit unless he has served in the Far North or abroad (one more exception to the rule is made for those who have no housing at all). Can this be right and fair? They say: Moscow is overcrowded, there is already an acute housing crisis there. That is true and we at the Ministry of Defense are well aware of that: After all, there are already in the capital several thousand officers' families without apartments. Nevertheless, I am convinced that these facts are no reason to refuse a residential permit to a Muscovite officer who has served far from his home town. Especially since, according to our estimates, if the present restrictions were lifted Moscow would receive no more than 200 officers a year who come from the capital and have been transferred into the reserve. Most of them have families and friends living here. Is Moscow really not able to give them a hospitable welcome? It is to be hoped that the city authorities will find a way to resolve this question.

It is common knowledge that the housing problem is not only acute in Moscow. Although those liable to dismissal from the ranks of the Armed Forces are primarily officers who have served the allotted period, are entitled to a pension, and have housing (and also in part those who have been called up for active military service for 2-3 years), the serious housing shortage is a real fact. In the next 2 years the Ministry of Defense will build 100 blocks containing 60-80 apartments for military servicemen released under the reduction program. This, of course, will alleviate the problem but will not resolve it entirely. And we, I repeat, are counting very much on the committed attention, businesslike support, and help of local soviets and the public....

[Kornilov] One last question, Dmitriy Semenovich—a question we have taken from readers' letters. Yes, they write; the reduction of the Army by 500,000 men is undoubtedly a profoundly peaceful step, a measure which, apart from anything else, will considerably help to strengthen our economy. But what about defense? Is it possible to reduce the Army by 500,000 people without harming its combat readiness?

[Sukhorukov] From time to time we, too, at the Ministry of Defense receive such letters, and they are prompted of course by the same, noble patriotic motives. The concern which the letter writers express is entirely unfounded. The might and combat readiness of any modern Army and the reliability of our defense building are not so much quantitative as primarily qualitative parameters. And from that standpoint our Soviet Army—whether in

terms of its equipment, military science, and of course the personnel of the Armed Forces—has everything it needs to ensure the reliable security of the motherland and its allies.

Army General Lizachev Meets With Voters

PM1003111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Smolyanko report: "Meeting on Belorussian Soil"]

[Text] A meeting between voters and Army General A. Lizichev, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has been held in the Minsk Officers House.

The candidate told those present about the progress of restructuring in the country and the Army and the deepening of the democratization process in military collectives, shared his views on Armed Forces cuts, stressed the need to improve the quality of combat and political training, stressed efforts to further strengthen military discipline, and answered the voters' numerous questions. Army Gen A. Li·chev visited the front-ranking N. Gastello Kolkhoz in Minsk Oblast, where he talked with rural working people and inquired about the farm's economy and the social and leisure conditions of the rural people's lives.

Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the meeting.

Near East War Veteran Seeks Recognition

PM0903151989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Letter from I. Probylov, colonel of the reserve under the rubric "Reader Poses Question": "We Also Fought...."]

[Text] We are now honoring our soldiers who have returned from Afghanistan, and deservedly so. They have fulfilled their patriotic and international duty. It is not by hearsay that I know what this is—fulfilling international tasks abroad. I happened to be in the Near East in 1970-1971 together with my comrades—antiaircraft missilemen. We participated in Egypt's air defense. The situation there was complex. Particularly in the spring and summer of 1970 when Israeli aircraft noticeably stepped up their combat operations against Egypt. From March through August alone there were about 6,000 sorties; moreover, more than 40 percent of the strikes were inflicted against air defense systems. The battles were conducted in difficult climatic conditions. Soldiers under the leadership of Majors M. Mansurov and V. Tolokonnikov, for example, endured an exceptionally difficult attack 18 July which lasted for many hours (more than 20 aircraft took part in it). They destroyed two targets. But the antiaircraft gunners also suffered losses.

On 3 August the missilemen of the subunits led by Lieutenant Colonels K. Popov and N. Kutyntsev had a fierce encounter with the enemy. In the Suez Canal zone they repulsed attacks by Israeli aircraft, destroying and crippling several aircraft. On 5 August Israel started talks for a temporary cease-fire with the United Arab Republic. Two days later the sides had a cease-fire in place. Many of our soldiers who showed genuine courage were awarded orders and medals, and Lt Cols K. Popov and N. Kutyntsev were awarded the title hero of the Soviet Union.

Who knows about this?... We are offended that we who fulfilled international tasks in the Near East are not mentioned. Isn't it time to restore justice?

Colonel of the Reserve I. Probylov

* Accomplishments of Purged General Cited

WA18010503a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by V. Pariyskiy and G. Zhavoronkov: "Fallen into Disgrace...."; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **The lists of those who fell in World War II do not include the name of Andrey Snesarev. He died earlier, in 1937. Notwithstanding, this consignment to oblivion was not justified. General Snesarev was undoubtedly involved in the victory in what was then the distant time of May 1945.**

Andrey Yevgenyevich Snesarev cannot be personally numbered among those treated badly by the tsarist regime. For 50 years he was a lieutenant general at General Headquarters, the bearer of many orders (including the Order of Anna and Stanislav first degree with sword, conferred on him personally by Nicholas II with expressions of the highest regard). He was awarded the Georgiyev cross and arms for personal bravery in battle. In addition he was a mathematician, an eminent oriental scholar, and a member of the Geographical Society.

No, his biography up to October 1917 does not read like the biography of a failure who was bypassed by the rank and honors.

A.Ye. Snesarev's daughter Yevgeniya Andreyevna remembers:

"In 1888 my father graduated from the department of physics and mathematics at Moscow University and defended a dissertation on infinitesimally small numbers. He had a out-of-the-ordinary linguistic ability. He could speak and write in 14 languages. He sang like a professional and was even invited to join the company of the Bolshoi Theater. But as was to occur repeatedly throughout his life, he himself, without any kind of insistence, sharply changed the fate that had been predestined for him...."

Yes, A. Snesarev started everything from the beginning, with a clean sheet. He enrolled in a military school, served in a regiment, and studied at the General Staff Academy.

He was at the forefront throughout the whole of World War I. His authority was so high that in the summer of 1917 delegates of the soldiers' committee of the 9th Army Corps elected him their own commander. This did not happen very often.

He was not unknown in the capricious and captious world of science. His work on oriental studies was highly assessed among the orientalists of the old world and the new and he was a member of the Russian Geographical Society. By October 1917 he was not cheated out of his glory. And despite this, his decision on his further destiny was unshakable: "If the Russian people have rallied behind the Bolsheviks, then I am with them. An entire people cannot be wrong." There it was, with no second thoughts. Once and for all.

He was one of the first military specialists to whom the Supreme Military Council of the republic turned with a request for him to participate in the creation of the Red Army. In May 1918 Snesarev was named military instructor (essentially the commander) of the North Caucasus District, and with a mandate signed by V.I. Lenin he arrived in Tsaritsyn.

The duty entrusted to him by the republic would have sounded impressive except for one "but." Neither the district nor the front actually existed. His command consisted of isolated detachments retreating from the south and from the Ukraine under the onslaught of regular units belonging to Denikin, Krasnov, and the Germans.

In a fantastically short time Snesarev created a stable defense for the approaches to Tsaritsyn, thus safeguarding the food and oil arteries and preventing the armies in the south and east from joining up.

An assessment by his contemporary Major General V. Dudnik, chief of the Department of Party Political Work at the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy:

"The historical legends once circulating in scholarly circles were astonishingly viable. For even now if anyone asks who took the credit for the fact that Tsaritsyn was not surrendered in 1918, almost everyone responds with 'Stalin.' But—and documents have established this—it was not because but in spite of Stalin's extremely inappropriate intervention in Snesarev's planning of operations.

The haggling with the documents continues to this day. For example, Snesarev's orders, which had positive consequences, are ascribed to Stalin, and contrariwise, the results of the defeat are deemed to be Snesarev's even though their real author was Stalin.

It is astonishing, but in only 2 months (June and July of 1918) Snesarev succeeded in creating a quite stable defense for Tsaritsyn, and both attempts by the Whites to seize the city failed. From mid-July the Tsaritsyn front was stabilized and the defense could hold.

But these things—some of the brightest pages from Snesarev's biography—would then for a long time be removed from history by those who had to ascribe the entire heroic epic of Tsaritsyn to Stalin.

The fascination of Snesarev's personality was, according to the memoirs of S.M. Budennyy, so great that he was, perhaps, the only general in the Red Army who permitted himself to strut about among the frontline units in his tsarist uniform without provoking the animosity toward the "gold epaulettes" so common among the soldiers. When the danger of wearing the uniform of a general was mentioned, Snesarev calmly and shortly retorted: "The epaulettes are a mark of military service. Moreover, no one has demoted me."

Indeed, neither the republic nor the people demoted him. Stalin tried to. Because he was in charge of organizing food supplies he began to bombard Moscow with telegrams demanding that Snesarev be replaced because of his defensive tactics and changeable moods.

But it was not for Stalin to teach the participant of the Brusilov breakthrough, General Snesarev, to advance. He returned normal discipline, got rid of self-appointed commanders, and taught observance of subordination and compliance with orders.

This was what General Secretary Stalin and Voroshilov, appointed by him to the post of People's Commissar of Defense, would later demand. But that was later.... Meanwhile, there were constant conflicts at the headquarters.

"To the Chairman of the Supreme Military Council.

"... Comrade Voroshilov as military chief does not possess the necessary qualities. He is inadequately briefed in the duty of service and he does not adhere to the elementary rules of a troop commander.

[signed]: A. Snesarev."

An assessment by V. Dudnik:

"The description of Voroshilov given by Snesarev in his report is quite objective. Voroshilov was possessed of a fervent desire to carry out any assignment of the revolution but he had no military knowledge, and, as time showed, it did not appear later.

"Voroshilov's aggrieved ambition and political careerism and Stalin's lust for power matched each other. Both needed the other. The role of each of them separately was very limited, and we need to look again at how positive it was."

The critical point of the conflict became a combat order issued by Snesarev, by which Voroshilov's group (Voroshilov had now been named as "front commander") was assigned a secondary role. Under pressure from Stalin the "treacherous" order never went into force and the district headquarters commanded by the military instructor was arrested and detained in the hold of a barge.

Only the intervention of an inspection team from the Supreme Military Council saved Snesarev at that time from being shot. He was recalled to Moscow where his activity was assessed positively and he was then assigned to lead the defense of the Western (Belorussian-Lithuanian) region.

But the troika that had replaced the command of the Southern Front (Stalin, Voroshilov, and Minin) quickly launched an offensive against the Whites that ended in heavy losses and created a critical situation at Tsaritsyn. It was essential to reinforce the leadership immediately in order to restore to that sector the stability that had been achieved by the district headquarters before it was replaced.

Snesarev's lessons at Tsaritsyn were to become a school for many military leaders in the civil war. And one of those lessons—the tactical need to create large cavalry formations—was brilliantly followed in the crushing attacks by the 1st and 2nd Cavalry Armies.

An assessment by his contemporary V. Dudnik:

"During the sixties I was working on on an article about Snesarev. Scientific honesty demanded that I clarify Voroshilov's attitude toward the events of those years. Voroshilov made the following excuse: 'It was long ago and I have forgotten a great deal, and in general is it worth digging over old history?' Then I said candidly that it would be painful for me to use his name in a negative context. He was obviously ready for this, and he said firmly: 'Comrade Dudnik, history cannot be revised.'"

In August 1919 Snesarev was appointed chief of the General Staff Academy. The country was now demanding not simply natural-born commanders but cadre military people capable of large-scale strategic thinking and tactical skill. Snesarev's lessons would be learned also by those who occupied the highest command posts during the Great Patriotic War.

From 1921, following the transformation of the academy, A. Snesarev devoted himself to scientific teaching work. He presented courses in five VUZ's and published more than 200 papers. He was one of the first to be awarded the title of Hero of Labor, and he was nominated for election to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Meanwhile, in another place and in secret, other formulations appeared alongside Snesarev's name, formulations that for many years would be stamped on him: "henchman of the bandit Trotskiy," "spy and wrecker," "enemy of the working people."

A month after the magnificent celebration of Stalin's 50th birthday many military instructors were arrested, including Snesarev. The immediate cause of his arrest was injudicious talk about Voroshilov's jubilee article "Stalin and the Red Army," which for the first time gave the General Secretary a special historical role as organizer and inspirer of the victories in the civil war, starting with the heroic defense of Tsaritsyn.

Living witnesses of the real picture of events always interfere with the creation of myths. And if they will not become false witnesses then they are destroyed.

In the Snesarev family they have preserved an inventory of things taken during the search: The Georgiyev sword was confiscated along with photographs and letters. What kind of sedition can be read from those letters? It turns out, nothing less than a plan for the organization of a military pro-monarchical conspiracy! And the sabre as evidence of the terror being prepared....

Yevgeniya Andreyevna Snesareva remembers:

"When she learned about the sentence that had been imposed, Mama filed an appeal for a review of the case at all the highest appellate levels. No answer was received from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and Voroshilov refused to receive her. Budennyy reported that he was unable to help. A statement to Uborevich 'with a request for protection and rescue' was returned the same day with a notation in black ink: 'In light of the impossibility of helping your request cannot be followed up.' And then in a final burst of desperation Mama sent a telegram and followed it up with a letter to Stalin. We received no answer. Papa was transported to the north to serve a 10-year sentence in the penal labor camps...."

Having scarcely arrived at the place of his confinement, Snesarev asked for a pencil and paper. No, he did not need them for confessions or complaints. While the investigation was proceeding he pondered the results of the work that he had regarded as essential to leave behind, if not published then at least in manuscript form.

"To the chief of the camp. I consider it most desirable that my scientific and literary studies be conducted along with my camp work load from 0900 hours to 1500 hours, while the rest of time will be allowed for scientific and literary studies. Prisoner Snesarev."

Andrey Yevgenyevich was in a hurry. He would soon be 70 and his health was deteriorating, and he had so much to do. Meanwhile, his hand could hold a pencil, and we writes "Fire Tactics." An essay.

"The battlefield today is saturated with fire. To the quantity and quality of fire is now added fire from the sky. People's nerves are shattered to an improbable degree.... How can the soldier be encouraged on the battlefield? Of course, he can be threatened with punishment, even execution and in fact this step can be taken.... But we do not have to look very far into the phenomenon to understand that this is a palliative no matter how threatening it may seem outwardly, and it will be inadequate, and it will never be able to be used to its practical limits, not to mention its banal nature and its corrupting effect...."

If these words had been heard in good time perhaps it would not have been necessary to issue Order No 227. And perhaps the price of victory would have been differente.

Snesarev tried to prevent anything dreadful, as it seemed to him, and he warned against it. And half-paralyzed in the camp sickbay, unable even to hold a pencil, he asked for someone to write his dictation.

He died before the end of 1943. And 21 years later a military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court posthumously rehabilitated him for "lack of any crime."

When making his disclosures in describing personality cult, N.S. Khrushchev asserted that Stalin did do one service—he won the war. But this is not true. It does not go to the credit of Stalin. Because it is impossible to win a war without reinforcing the Army and without training it comprehensively in strategy and tactics. It is now quite clear that the former Supreme Commander in Chief feared his own Army so much that he systematically disorganized it, destroying all those whom he considered its conscience, reason, and will.

It remains only to wonder at the great strength of the structure and the potential of revolutionary energy that was put into the Army by the military instructors and junior red commanders, that even after all the purges and upheavals it sprang back from 1941—sprang back and was not smashed.

V.I. Lenin taught us to listen to the opinion of enemies. We therefore recall that in his first speech after the flight from the Crimea Baron Wrangel said: "Soldiers! I congratulate you on your victory. There in Russia we have left the kind of army that will fear no kind of intervention. We can rest easy about our motherland."

Paradoxical though it is, Wrangel's words were prophetic.

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